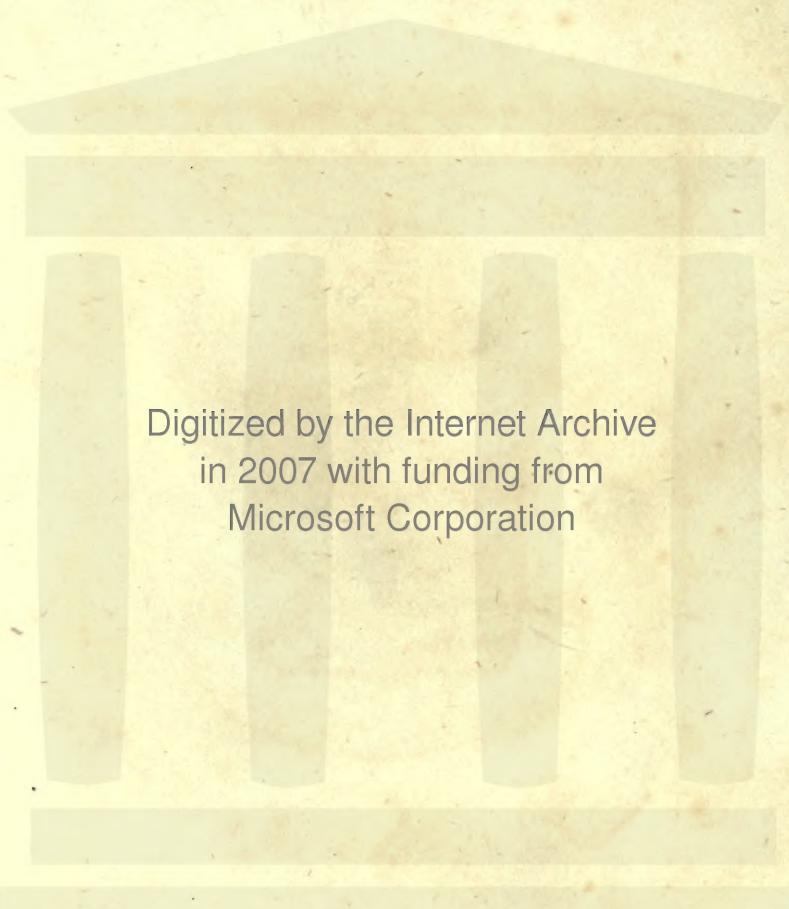




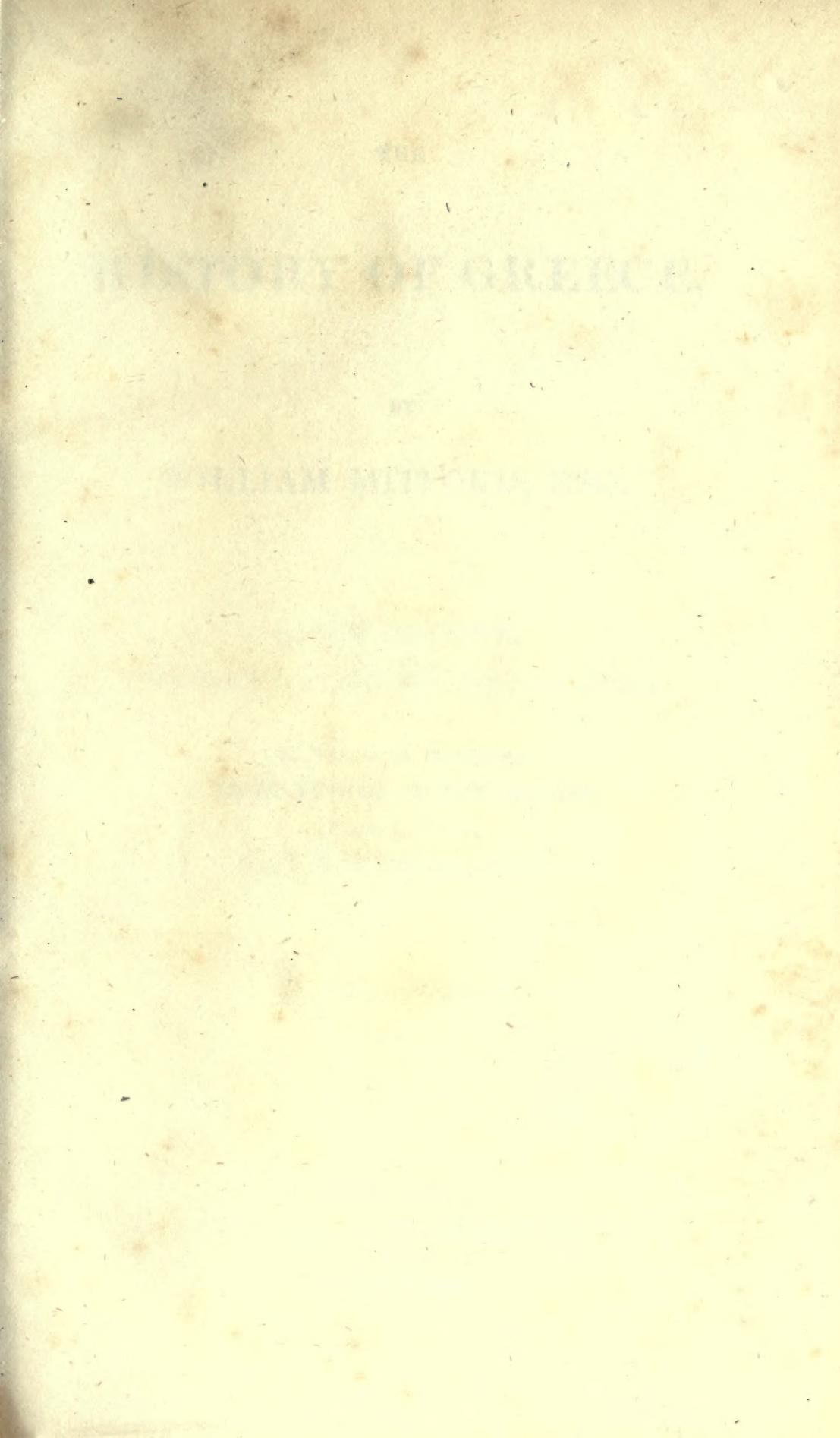
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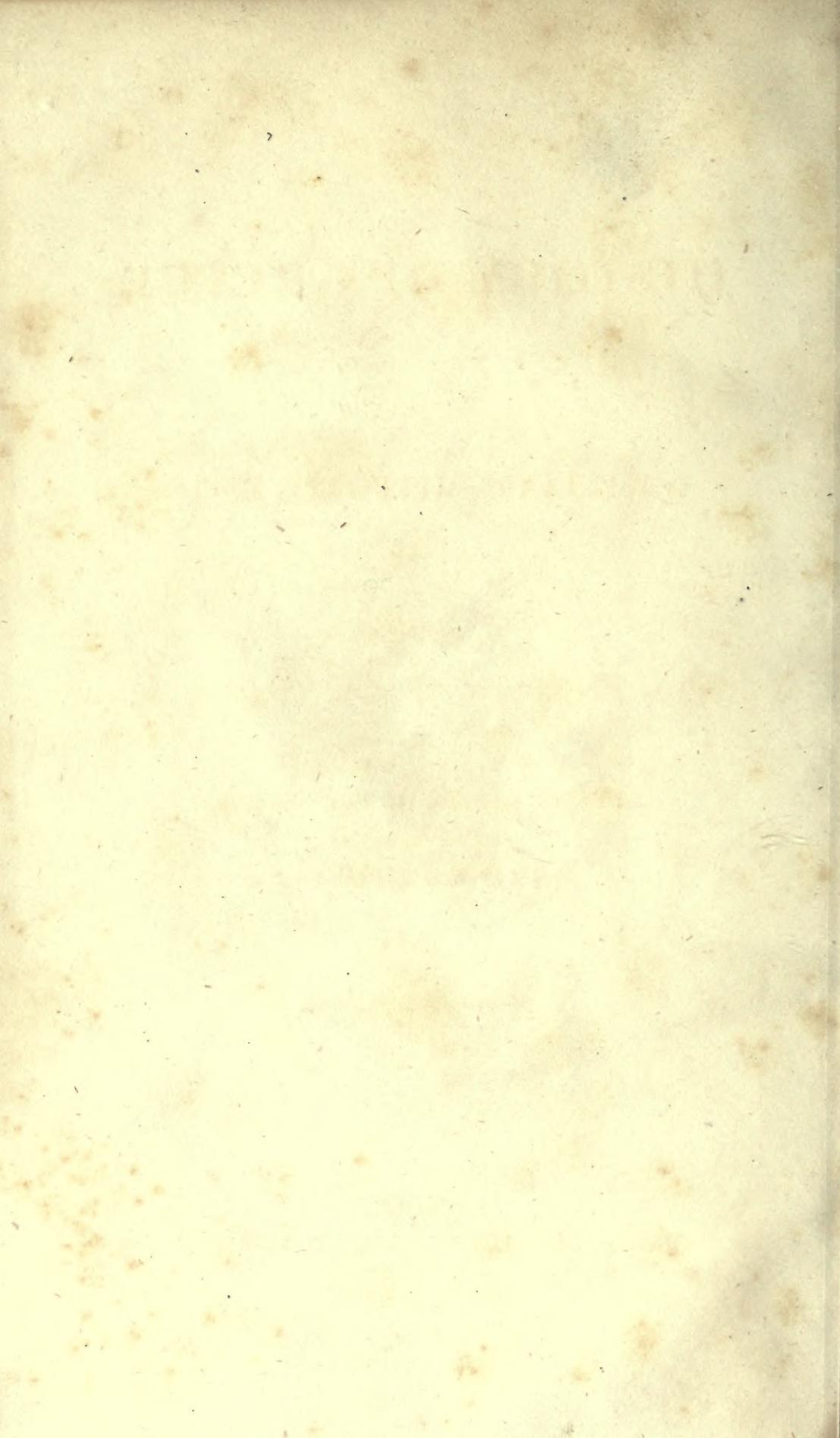




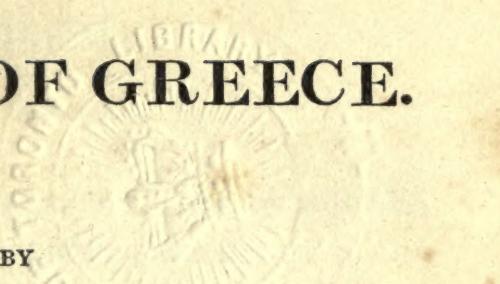


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THE


HISTORY OF GREECE.

BY
WILLIAM MITFORD, ESQ.

A NEW EDITION,
WITH NUMEROUS ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED
A BRIEF MEMOIR OF THE AUTHOR,
BY HIS BROTHER,
LORD REDESDALE.

IN EIGHT VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

222520
3. \$ 28

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR T. CADELL, STRAND.

MDCCXXIX.

100
THE HISTORY OF THOTHATH

OF THE EGYPTIAN PHARAOH

AND OF HIS WISEMAN,
THOTHATH

WHICH IS THE HISTORY OF THE

PHARAOH WHO MADE THE
WALLS IN THE RED SEA,

AND OF THE WALLS WHICH HE

MADE IN THE MEDITERRANEAN
SEA, AND WHICH ARE CALLED
THE GREAT PYRAMIDS.

THESE PYRAMIDS ARE THE
WORKS OF THOTHATH, THE
WISDOM OF WHOM IS UNSEARCHABLE.

THESE PYRAMIDS ARE THE
WISDOM OF THOTHATH,

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ADVERTISEMENT.

IN the succeeding Memoir* the reader will find satisfactory information respecting the nature of the materials left by Mr. Mitford, which the editor of these volumes had to arrange and collate. In addition to the performance of that duty, a self-imposed task was undertaken, of which some explanation seems necessary. The *Fasti Hellenici* of Mr. Clinton, acknowledged both by English and Continental scholars, particularly the Germans, as of the highest authority, seemed too important a book in connexion with Grecian history to be neglected by any reader of Mr. Mitford's work. On many occasions he is found at variance with Mr. Mitford, on some important points he directly controverts him, and in his Introduction he alleges against him a general negligence of dates, while he admits the successful application of his talents to matters requiring higher endowments. While Mr. Mitford's 'attention,' he says, 'is engaged with 'political and philosophical speculations, and with 'the facts themselves, (*in illustrating which he is far superior to any former writer,*) he has not always 'been diligent in the dates of his history.' P. xxiii. 'No reference,' he adds in a note, 'is here intended 'to Mr. Mitford's early Grecian chronology . . . in 'which he boldly and fairly avows himself a follower

* P. xli.

‘ of Newton, and dissatisfied with the vulgar systems.
‘ That belongs to another inquiry.’

Merely to alter the dates of Mr. Mitford into conformity with those of Mr. Clinton would not only have been an insufficient change, but would have introduced a mischievous confusion between them and the text or the notes. To have altered the latter would have been a dishonest breach of faith, and would almost have required the dismemberment of the work. The editor, who honors the memory of the departed historian, could not be guilty of thus defacing his monument.

No plan therefore appeared more practicable, as well as more to the advantage of the reader, than, leaving the early chronology untouched, subsequently to append to Mr. Mitford’s dates, in all important points of discrepancy, the dates of Mr. Clinton,* accompanied by such extracts or abstracts as might seem necessary to their elucidation, or at least with a warning to the reader to consult the *Fasti Hellenici* where further search might be beneficial.

This plan has been adopted; and thus the integrity of Mr. Mitford’s history is preserved, while its value is increased by the aid of the most learned, acute, and accurate work on that portion of the chronology of Grecian history which it embraces.

The present edition also possesses the further recommendation of a copious Index.

London: May, 1829.

W. K.

* These dates, with other additional matter, are kept apart from the author’s by brackets.

A
SHORT ACCOUNT
OF
THE AUTHOR,
AND OF
HIS PURSUITS IN LIFE;
WITH
AN APOLOGY FOR SOME PARTS OF HIS WORK.
BY HIS BROTHER,
LORD REDESDALE.

THE author of these volumes died at his seat at Exbury, in Hampshire, on the 8th of February, 1827, in the eighty-fourth year of his age.

A new edition of his work having been contemplated before his death, search has been since made among his books and papers for materials which it was supposed he might have prepared for that purpose; and such as have been found have been used in the present edition.

To those who may hereafter read the work, it may be amusing, and in some degree useful, to learn the source from which it sprung; and to have some knowledge of the private history of the author, and his pursuits in life, so far as either may have affected his judgment on the subjects of which he treated.

This consideration, and a desire to offer apology for some parts of his work on which observations have been made, have induced the compilation of the following pages.

Early impressions often strongly influence the mind in more advanced age; and it appears, from his own acknowledgment, that the author of these volumes had, when a schoolboy, taken a fancy to the Greek in preference to the Latin language, and to the Grecian character in preference to the Roman; but rather as that character was offered to his youthful imagination in other works than those of the most authoritative Greek historians; in Plutarch, rather than in Thucydides and Xenophon.

A severe illness, which occasioned his removal from school, and denied him the advantage of other instruction during a year, at the critical age of fifteen, and the necessity, for some time after, of careful attention to health, checked his progress in his favourite study; and the bar having been proposed as his future profession, he was discouraged in his pursuit of the Greek, and urged to attend more to the Latin language, as that to which his studies might be more advantageously applied.

It is difficult to control an early propensity. Having lost his father shortly after he had in some degree recovered from his illness, he was, as soon as the state of his health would permit, sent to Oxford. He was there very much his own master, and therefore easily led to prefer amusement to study. But though generally engaged, whilst resident at Oxford, in that dissipation which lax discipline allowed to a gentleman commoner not under the control of parental authority, regret of his inability, without further exertion, to become acquainted with the celebrated writings of the Greeks in their own language, stimulated him, in the vacations which he passed at a distance from his college friends, to some labor for that purpose, but without the assistance of any instructor.

As the bar had been proposed for his profession, he had prevailed on himself, whilst at Oxford, to take advantage of the celebrated lectures on the law of England, of the Vinerian professor, Blackstone, which he regularly attended, and of which he took copious notes. The instruction which he thus received led him to early consideration of the political institutions of his own country, and of the benefits derived from those institutions in all their consequences.

But though the general theory of the law of England, and its political results, had deeply engaged his attention, he found the reading required to qualify him for practice in courts of justice so “distasteful” (his own expression of his feeling) that, after some struggle with himself, he resolved to abandon the pursuit¹.

Marrying at two and twenty, and his family increasing, he retired to his paternal property at Exbury, in Hampshire, adjoining the New Forest, and then one of the most sequestered spots to be found within a hundred miles of London. During seven years, with little interruption, except short occasional excursions to London, his residence was in this solitude, his general society being only his own family. The Greek language, and the admirable books written in that language, were his principal amusement.

These seven years of retirement may have had an effect of which he was not fully aware. In solitude, the mind, resting on itself, may form opinions which, not meeting with collision, remain strongly impressed, and are not easily abandoned.

At two and thirty, the loss of an amiable wife interrupted

¹ It was said by the Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, that scarcely any person, amongst his early acquaintance, had persevered in the study of the law, who had competent means of support, without the profits of the bar; and the author's father, and his mother's brother and father, all educated for and called to the bar, having quitted the profession when they respectively succeeded to moderate paternal estates, he thought himself justified, by their example, in leaving the bar to his younger brother, whom necessity compelled to persevere.

all his purposes at home. A violent illness followed; and on his recovery from danger, in October, 1776, he set out, in a state of imperfect convalescence, for the continent, proposing to spend the winter at Nice.

Before he left England, he had become acquainted with two young Frenchmen of high character amongst the men of letters at Paris; M. de Meusnier, then about eight and twenty, and afterwards much distinguished, and M. de Villoison, about the same age, who had acquired reputation as a Greek scholar. Through the latter he was introduced to the Baron de St. Croix, a young officer in the French service, author of a work of great repute on the historians of Alexander.

The literary pursuits of De Meusnier, Villoison, and St. Croix accorded with his favorite study; and he had afterwards the advantage of spending some time with the Baron de St. Croix at Mourmoiron, in the comtat of Avignon, both in his journey to Nice and on his return to England.

The enthusiasm of the Baron de St. Croix and M. de Villoison for the Greek language and literature tended to increase similar feelings in his mind, and engaged him more ardently to pursue his studies, in which he had been principally his own instructor.

During his retirement at Exbury, he held the commission of captain in the South Hampshire militia, of which the author of the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* was major. Their conversations, in those hours of leisure which the militia service afforded, frequently turned on ancient history; and Mr. Gibbon, finding the eagerness of his friend in the pursuit of Grecian literature, urged him to undertake the *History of Greece*.

These circumstances led to the compilation and publication of the first volume; and its favorable reception induced him to proceed.

The several volumes were written under various circum-

stances, and at various intervals. Amusement in solitude had been his first inducement to engage in the work; and much was afterwards compiled to relieve the irksome idleness of a peaceful camp, or of country quarters. The rest followed as leisure and occasion permitted; the duties he owed to his family, to the care of his property, and to the public for some time as a member of parliament, and his official duties as a country magistrate and verdurer of the New Forest, his militia regiment, of which he was finally lieutenant-colonel, and other avocations of business or of amusement, frequently interfering.

It was his intention to have continued his work to that period when conquest reduced Greece to the condition of a Roman province; and having this in view, he determined not to interrupt the narration of the expedition of Alexander in Asia, which forms the subject of the fifth volume in the original quarto edition, by adverting to the internal affairs of Greece during the progress of that expedition. Increasing age producing great, and often painful, bodily infirmity, failure of eyesight, peculiarly distressing to him in reading the Greek character, and failure of memory, compelled him to abandon the further pursuit of what had been, during many years, his favorite study and amusement; and he has left no materials for his proposed conclusion of the Grecian history of which any use can be made.

When new editions of any of the volumes were required, he revised and corrected those volumes; and he attempted a revision and correction of the whole work: but failure in health and strength compelled him to abandon the task, and to the fifth volume he did little.

Upon the religions of ancient Greece and Rome, the public, the mystical, and the philosophical, he had composed a separate treatise. When he felt himself compelled to abandon the completion of the History of Greece according

to his original plan, he published this treatise, in small octavo, as a separate work. He seems however to have considered it, so far as it related to the Greeks, as in some degree a supplement to his History; but it was principally composed after he had been compelled, by increasing age and infirmity, to abandon the prosecution of that history to the conclusion which he had contemplated; when (to use the language which, in that treatise, he has applied to a distinguished Roman), “ruminating on the end of life, which his years admonished him to be approaching,” his mind turned to a subject importantly affecting the conduct of man toward his fellow-man; important, therefore, in the consideration of the history of man in every country; and suggesting to those who, having the benefit of the Christian revelation, might be disposed to judge too harshly of the moral conduct of men whose minds were not so instructed, a charitable indulgence to human infirmity, wandering in uncertainty and error.

Though the History of Greece, thus contemplated, has been left imperfect, the published work has been generally esteemed; but severe observations have been also passed upon it.

To notice all, or even many, of those observations, is not proposed. They have been of various character. Censure and applause have varied in subject and in degree; and generally according to the various tastes, and various opinions, critical, philosophical, political, and, perhaps, religious, of their authors; and what has been censured by some has been approved by others.

In writing the history of Greece, the author had to encounter many preconceived opinions: and when a writer ventures to encounter opinions, and especially political opinions, he ought not to be surprised at finding his opinions assailed by those whose minds have been long in subjection

to opposite opinions; for opinions long cherished may exercise a degree of tyranny over the strongest minds; a tyranny of which the person subjected to it may not be fully aware.

So it may have been with the author of this history, and so it may have been with those who have most severely censured his work.

The chief object of this address is to vindicate the political opinions of the author as generally manifested in his work. On some less important subjects on which he has been assailed, he was disposed to yield to what may be called fashion: but to his political opinions he steadily adhered.

It is not proposed to deny that his opinions of orthography were in some degree peculiar; but they were founded on considerations not, perhaps, unworthy of some attention.

One of his amusements, in his early solitude, was an attempt to gain some knowledge of that language, usually called Saxon, which the northern invaders of Britain, to whom we have been accustomed to give the name of Saxons, had rendered the language of those parts of the island in which they had obtained permanent settlement. That language, though varying in dialects in different parts of the country, remained the language of the people of England, notwithstanding the Norman conquest, and at length became the sole language of their country. That language therefore, he conceived, must be deemed the source from which the language now called English had flowed. It was originally the language of a rude people; and, to supply its defects, many words have been adopted from other languages. He deemed it probable that when the Saxons first attempted to express their original language in writing, they used for that purpose letters according with their pronunciation of the words which they intended thus to describe; but that when they expressed in writing words which they had adopted from other languages, they had often, entirely or in a degree, adopted with the words the letters by which those words

had been expressed in writing by the people from whose language such words had been taken, though not always agreeing with their own pronunciation of such adopted words; and he thought it evident that many words, originally derived from the Latin language, had been adopted through the medium of another tongue, and not directly from the Latin. He found also that the spelling of words used in the English language, whether derived from the Saxon, or from the languages of other countries, had, in many instances, been varied considerably from time to time, and often capriciously; and even that modern usage had varied, in many instances, from the common practice in his boyhood.

Under these impressions he attempted to form for himself a system of orthography different from the practice of the day: but he found the tide of fashion too strong for him; and from his last corrections of parts of the printed copies of his works, it may be collected that he was disposed to submit generally to the fashion.

In some words of Greek origin he approached more nearly to the original language than had been common; but in this also, in revising his works, he made alterations.

It has therefore been thought fit, in the present edition, generally to accommodate the spelling of words to what may be deemed the usage of approved writers.

The peculiarity of the author's style, in some passages of his work, has been noticed. It had probably arisen, in some degree, from his habit of translating, almost literally, passages in Greek authors, which he was anxious not to misrepresent. Some alterations, which he had made in revising his work, have been adopted in this edition; but it has not been thought proper to make any further change.

Probably these peculiarities of the author, which have been treated with no little severity, would not have been the subject of so much observation, if his work had not from other causes excited attention.

His political opinions, applied to the constitutions of the Grecian republics, have indeed been the subject of the severest observation. They were the result of his early and continued thought, of anxious reflection, and of some practical experience in the various situations in which he had been placed; and from those opinions he never swerved.

His study of the Grecian history he conceived warranted him in believing that the forms of government adopted in the best constituted Grecian states, often the subject of youthful eulogy, were not suited to the extensive territory and the free condition of the inhabitants of the British islands; and he thought that he discharged a duty to his country in pointing out the evils arising from all the forms of government adopted in the different states of Greece, constituting a tyranny of citizens, in some degree, over those who, though free in their persons, had not the privileges of citizens, and, in a greater degree, over a much larger population of slaves; and, not unfrequently, a tyranny of citizens over citizens. He was not misled by the delusive words "the people," when he found that "the people" had not the signification which the same words had in his own country; that "the people" in Greece meant, not all, but a part only, and not the largest part, of the population of a state; that that part called "the people" were absolute and uncontrolled sovereigns of those who, though free in their persons, had not the imperial dignity of citizens, and of a body of men, superior in number to all the rest of the population, but retained in a degrading state of slavery; and that, even amongst the privileged citizens, the most worthy were often victims of the caprice and injustice of that sovereign power called "the people," because that power was sovereign, sole, and uncontrolled.

He conceived therefore, that in Greece true freedom, the freedom of all, such as he conceived British freedom long to have been, never existed; that the general security of person

and property, which marks the British government, never existed; that, whether ruled by a single tyrant, ruled by an aristocracy, or ruled by a democracy, (falsely called democracy, if that word is used to import a government of the people, in the sense in which the words “the people” are understood in this country,) the same mischievous passions prevailed in the governing power; that jealousy of their power, fear of losing it, thirst of private gain, and every other bad passion, alike swayed the conduct of every ruler, rendering all despots in the use and abuse of power; and that even the mixed government of Sparta, though least exposed to some of these evils, was a tyranny of a part of those who called themselves free, in some degree over others who, though free in their persons, had not the same privileges; and in a horrible degree over a miserable population of slaves, more oppressed than in any other state of Greece, because they were the slaves of the aggregate body of privileged freemen, and not of different masters; excluding that personal affection which may exist, and often has existed, between master and slave.

During the compilation of a great part of these volumes, the minds of men in this country, and in various parts of Europe, were strongly agitated by political opinions. The revolution in the government of several of the British colonies in North America, and the French revolution which followed, had excited strong sensations, sometimes leading to the assertion of principles subversive of every subsisting government; principles on which no government has subsisted, and on which (as far as the experience of the world can afford ground for judgment) no government could subsist.

Under such circumstances, an English writer, accustomed to contemplate, with gratitude and affectionate regard, the institutions which had long prevailed in his own country, and which he had been taught, by early instruction and by experience, to believe had been the source of the many advan-

tages which that country had enjoyed, might have claimed some indulgence, if, in viewing the political institutions of another country, and observing their effects, he had shown too strong a partiality for those of which he had enjoyed the benefit.

In reading the history of his own country, and examining the nature and effect of the institutions by which it had been governed, he had found that, during a very long period of time, the spirit of those institutions had been to Englishmen objects of general veneration and esteem; and that the violation of those institutions by the rude hand of power had been constantly resisted, and always finally overcome. He thought he might justly therefore be led to conceive that those institutions were founded on principles accordant with the freedom of man, so far as that freedom was consistent with the equal freedom of others, and the general order of society.

Contemplation of the various events recorded in English history had led him to reflect on the causes of that stability which had marked the principal institutions of his own country, through the struggles for their maintenance which had arisen in the course of so many centuries; and, in reading the history of ancient Greece, a mind accustomed to such contemplation, and such reflection, would be led to consider, why the same stability had not generally prevailed in that country; what were the causes of those convulsions which so often disturbed many of its various governments; what had produced, in many of its states, the frequent overthrow of even the semblance of liberty; and what had so often occasioned insecurity of property, of character, and of life, to many individuals, and to men highly worthy, even when the cause of liberty was deemed most triumphant.

To such reflections the author had been directly led by circumstances. When he was in France, in the years 1776 and 1777, he had perceived the germs of that revolution which afterwards overthrew, not only the government, but

all the institutions of that country, scarcely leaving a trace of what the former institutions of France had been. In that country he had found in many persons, and in some whom he highly respected, a disposition to adopt the most extravagant theories of speculative politicians, founded on what they called the equal rights of man, as the only just principles on which a government ought to be formed; and those who adopted these theories often referred to the Grecian republics, as offering a system of free institutions, resting, as they conceived, on similar principles, without just attention to many important circumstances, and especially to the state of personal slavery in which a large portion of the population of Greece languished. He had also found in this country, during the contest with America, and still more during the imposing blaze of the French revolution, similar notions prevailing; and an apparent forgetfulness of the true principles of the English constitution, of the causes which had produced its beneficial effects, and preserved its spirit in the midst of convulsions threatening its destruction. He had found that here also high opinions were entertained by some distinguished persons of the freedom enjoyed by all in the Grecian republics, whose institutions were represented as tending more to the happiness of man than those which had prevailed in this country. He conceived that these persons had overlooked many important differences in the circumstances of both countries. He thought that they had not sufficiently considered that, generally, the territories of the Grecian republics were of no great extent; that in all the largest portion, and in many much the largest portion, of the population, and especially those by whom the labor of the country was principally performed, were slaves; and that war and politics were the chief occupations of the freemen, of whom however, in many of those states, a portion, not inconsiderable, though free in their persons, had not the rank of citizens, and had little share of po-

itical power in the government of the state. He thought that they had given too little consideration to the important fact, that the British islands were alone of much larger extent than all the states of Greece united; whilst the British empire extended far beyond those islands, over large portions of the inhabited globe, acquired for the purposes of commerce, and for defence of that commerce, and maintained at a great expense; and that the population of the whole empire had thus become immense, as well as its territory. The different employment of this great population seemed to him also to have been overlooked; and particularly that a large portion of the population of the British islands, the seat of the supreme government, was employed in agriculture, in manufactures, in internal trade, and in an external commerce far more widely diffused than the commerce of any country in former ages, embracing every part of the world, whilst another portion formed, distinctly, a great military force, of various descriptions, for the protection of the whole empire, distributed throughout its vast extent, and supported at the public expense; that military force, at the same time, in its variety as well as in its general constitution, bearing no resemblance to the military force of any Grecian state. He also conceived that this still more important distinction had been forgotten; that, in the British islands, the persons employed for all these various purposes, and for all purposes of the state, the governors and the governed, the agricultural, the manufacturing, the mercantile, and the military, were all alike freemen: whilst, in the Grecian states, all the freemen were soldiers, unless from age or other cause incapable of military service, and all the rest were slaves.

He conceived also that other circumstances, creating important differences between this country and the several states of Greece, had been overlooked. That sufficient attention had not been paid to the fact that, in this country, there were no such privileged orders of men as were gene-

rally to be found amongst the freemen in the different states of Greece. That the distinction between freeman and slave of itself created, in every part of Greece, a privileged order, inferior in number to that part of the population which was involved in the miserable condition of slavery; a condition tending more to degrade the mind of those condemned to endure it, in consequence of the high tone of superiority assumed by the privileged class of freemen, whilst the possession of slaves inflicted a grievous evil on the moral minds of their masters, who were conscious that, in physical strength, the inferiority of their number exposed them to continual danger from those whom they were therefore compelled to keep in subjection by a system of tyranny. That, in Greece, there generally existed also, amongst the free population, an order of men deriving peculiar privileges from noble birth, and a still more important distinction of order between those who were citizens of the state, and those who had not the privileges of citizens; the latter class including many freemen who were (unfortunately for themselves and for the state) of servile origin, and degraded by that origin; a distinction at this time severely felt in the West Indian islands under the British government; a distinction which prevailed also in the Spanish American colonies, and, combined with another distinction, injurious to those who, although of free blood and of Spanish origin, were not natives of Spain, contributed to the overthrow of the Spanish government in those colonies, and now threatens the expulsion from those countries of all natives of Spain.

In this country there has long been no such privileged order. All now are, and all have long been, in their persons equally free; and though the peers of the realm may be considered as forming, in some degree, a privileged order, their privileges are personal, in effect official, and confined to them personally; even the eldest son and apparent heir of a peer, during the lifetime of his father, having no ex-

clusive privilege, he and all the other children of the peer forming part of the great mass of the population of the country, compared with which the peers are in number as a drop of water in the ocean.

Before the unions of England and Scotland, and of Great Britain and Ireland, the peerage of England gave, and now the peerage of the United Kingdom gives, to each peer an hereditary office of high importance in the state, and certain privileges of person; and since those unions such peers of Scotland and Ireland as are elected to represent the peerages of those parts of the empire have the same office and privileges; but the rest of the peers of Scotland and Ireland have only certain personal privileges during their respective lives; privileges which the peers of Ireland may waive, and frequently have waived, by becoming members of the Commons' house of parliament.

But though, in this country, distinction of birth gives no exclusive qualification for any public office, except a seat in the Lords' house of parliament, distinctions of rank are more numerous, more precisely marked, and rise by more gentle yet more distinct gradations, in this than in any other country; and thus, as has been often observed, whilst the mass of the population forms the broad basis on which the whole edifice rests, the fabric rises by almost imperceptible degrees of rank, as a pyramid, of which the sovereign is the apex. To that point no lawful ambition can aspire; but every other degree of rank, and every office in the state, is open to all, allowing free scope to talent and to industry, advantages of which no inferiority of birth can deprive the possessor.

This distinction of rank therefore, beneficial in its tendency to preserve order, is so various, and so gradual, that it has not had ordinarily the effect of producing envy on the one part, or contempt on the other; and yet it has tended to bind all in a common interest to preserve order, the surest

safeguard of internal peace. Whenever this gradation of rank has been materially disturbed, confusion has followed; and whenever the crown, or either of the two other branches of the legislature, or individuals, or the mass of the people distinct from those constitutionally intrusted with the legislative and executive powers, have improvidently stepped aside from their respective proper stations, in any manner inconsistent with the spirit of the constitution, for any purpose, except to preserve the constitutional balance; and whenever unlawful ambition has sought to obtain the office of sovereign; internal commotion and injury to the rights of all have followed. But the innate strength of the constitution so formed, assisted by the general good sense and intelligence of the people, (the whole mass now forming one people of freemen,) has hitherto been able finally to restore the just balance whenever it has been thus deranged.

Superior political power is indeed, in various instances, given to the possessors of property; and, in a country where all are equally free, superiority of political power attributed to property is necessary for its protection, and has a tendency to preserve order, in which those who have property are most directly interested.

Anxious to impress on the minds of his countrymen what he considered as truths important to their welfare, the author of this History has frequently endeavoured to call those truths to the recollection of his readers, as opportunity occurred, in the course of his work; and whilst he has attempted to show that evils had arisen from institutions adopted by the most distinguished Grecian states, he has sought to impress on the minds of his countrymen that such institutions, even if suited to the condition of those states, were not suited to the condition of his own country; to warn them against the influence of that seduction which the splendid display of talent in the Grecian character might produce; and to bring them to estimate justly their own good fortune, in the enjoy-

ment of a well-balanced government, of men, all of whom were, in their persons, free.

For this purpose, he endeavoured to recal to their memory the origin of their own institutions, the circumstances under which those institutions had been established, and the consequences which had followed.

He conceived (with many who have written on the subject, and particularly with Blackstone, his early instructor in the laws of his country) that we owed this blessing principally to the free spirit of those northern conquerors whom we usually call our Saxon ancestors, uncontaminated by Roman refinement; and that the institutions which they established in England were probably derived, in a considerable degree, from their customs in the wilds which had been their former country, gradually improved, and adapted to their situation in the territory which they had acquired.

The Britons, the more ancient inhabitants of that territory, had been subjected by conquest to the Roman power, which had reduced a great part of the island to the condition of a Roman province. The Romans had not been expelled from that conquest, as they were from other parts of their empire. They voluntarily abandoned it, for the purpose of concentrating their force, to enable them to resist barbarous invaders of other provinces; and, taking from Britain, when they abandoned it, a great portion of the youth of the country to recruit their armies, they left the rest of the deserted Britons in a state of debility; corrupted and enervated by the refinement of imperial Rome, and, deprived of the protection of a large portion of their native youth, a prey to any invader.

In this state the Britons were found by the adventurous and hardy Northmen; first seeking plunder, and finally settlement, in a climate more favorable and a country more cultivated than their own.

When the Britons were driven from the best parts of their island, and compelled to take shelter in their mountain fastnesses, leaving the rest of their country a prey to their invaders, whatever of culture and improvement had been introduced by the Romans was in a great degree if not wholly lost; and the invaders acquired a wasted territory, of which they were themselves almost the only inhabitants. They consequently formed a new settlement of a new people, of which the language, the manners, and the institutions, religious and political, were derived from their original country. The British language was lost, and the language of the conquerors alone prevailed. Almost every place of habitation, and spot of ground, acquired a new name; indicating a new settlement, by a new people, as strongly marked as in many of the European acquisitions in the Western World.

In the invasions of England by the various people to whom the general appellation of Saxons has been given, though coming from different parts of the northern regions, under different leaders, those leaders had become the heads of their several establishments, when gradually settled in peace; and the country was divided into several states, with some variety in their institutions, but with some, though a very imperfect, connexion between those states, which were nevertheless frequently engaged in hostility with each other. The chiefs had very limited authority. As the conquest of each district had been the work of all the adventurers who had engaged in it, all claimed benefit in the prize. The desolated lands of the conquered were the principal reward of the victory; and this led to the concession of a large portion of political power to property in land, which, being immoveable, attaches the owner to the country of which it forms a part, and is a strong pledge for his general good conduct.

The concession of political power to landed property was an important feature in the political institutions of the Saxon adventurers in England; particularly distinguishing those institutions from the institutions of most of the Grecian states; and especially as, for security of their conquests, military service was attached to property in land. The proprietors of land thus became the great military force of the country, the protectors of their own political power in the government, and of the property of all against invaders.

For the preservation of internal peace, and the security of the persons and property of all, the inhabitants of every vill were, by one of their most ancient institutions, made pledges for the good conduct of all within the same district; whilst the administration of justice in ordinary cases, both criminal and civil, was provided for by subordinate jurisdictions in each of the numerous subdivisions of the country; jurisdictions intrusted to the landholders of the district, whilst the principal landholders of the state, with their leader, who bore the title of king, formed the legislative and supreme judicial power of each separate state.

When, after the lapse of years, the whole of the conquered country became in some degree united under one head, and probably in some instances before that event, the land was divided into portions called shires, in each of which was established a court, superior to the courts of the smaller districts; and in the shire-court the administration of justice was in the hands of the freeholders of the shire, under the presidency of the officers of the king. This administration of justice was assisted by the superior jurisdiction of the ordinary court of the king, extending over every shire within his dominion; and the whole were under the control of a supreme court, consisting chiefly of the principal landholders of the kingdom, constituting, under the king, the great legislative as well as judicial power, and resembling, in important points, the parliament of the present day.

The king was invested with the character of sacred and inviolable dignity; but he was limited in power by strict law, and assisted in the exercise of that power by the advice of selected ministers, responsible for his acts under their advice.

Every minister of power, as well the lowest officer of the meanest court of justice as those who were immediately appointed by the king, was responsible to the king and to the country for his conduct in the discharge of his duties; and the possession of property was considered as a necessary qualification for most of those offices, that those who were intrusted with power might have (in the language of the law) wherewithal to answer for their conduct to the king and his people.

The Britons had, long before the Saxon invasion, adopted the Christian religion; but the invaders were, and long remained, heathens. When they adopted the Christian religion, they received it from the Roman church, and endowed its establishment in England with valuable possessions and interests in land, from which it derived political power; and the political power which the reformed church still retains is founded on the possession of property in land.

Such seems to have been (as far as can be ascertained from the information which remains) the nature of the institutions established by the Saxon conquerors in their settlements in England. Those settlements were frequently disturbed by other northern adventurers, of whom those distinguished by the appellation of Danes at length placed their princes for a time on the English throne. The Saxon dynasty was restored; but under the weak government of the last prince of the Saxon royal family a few principal men of the country became too powerful; and, on his death, placing one of their own party on the throne, threatened the country with the danger of an aristocratical republic, with an elected chief.

The Norman invasion and conquest arrested the progress of this apparent evil: but the character of that conquest was very different from that of the Saxon invaders.

It was effected by one great force of disciplined soldiers, led by able commanders, under the supreme direction of a prince of great talent and experience in government, possessed of considerable power in the country from which he came, a power which he retained after his conquest in support of his power in the country which he had acquired.

He came, not as a plunderer, but claiming a lawful title to the throne of England; and he represented his invasion as an assertion of right, however weak that pretence of right may justly be deemed. He was therefore, according to his professions, bound to acknowledge the established law of the land, as the just rule for his conduct.

He effected his purpose by the means of a numerous army, consisting principally of volunteers, allured to assist his expedition by the hope of reward: for though the system of military service annexed to the tenure of land had been established by the Normans in the part of France which they had acquired, his feudatories did not consider the obligation of their tenures as extending to such an expedition as the invasion of England. His army consisted therefore of volunteers, many of them from other countries not under his rule, and all seeking personal benefits from the adventure in which they had engaged.

The Saxon government had been so enfeebled by the weak reign of Edward the Confessor, and the usurpation of Harold, opposed even by part of his own family, that a single battle, in which Harold fell, gave the crown to William. Many of the principal Saxon proprietors submitted to him, and were apparently received into his confidence. But, under pretence of his lawful title to the throne, he asserted a right to treat those who had adhered to his adversary, and had not obtained his favor, as guilty of rebellion against his

lawful power; and on this ground he confiscated the lands of Harold, and of many others, and granted them as rewards to his victorious army, reserving to himself the hereditary demesnes of the Saxon kings, and other sources of their revenue.

The first forfeitures not satisfying the demands of his army, he took advantage of frequent insurrections of the Saxons against his power, and thus gradually transferred a large portion of the property of the principal proprietors to his adherents. But his conquest was thus rather a conquest of those proprietors, and of their lands, together with the crown, than a conquest of the people of England.

The obligation of military service for defence of the country was, in some degree, imposed on land by the Saxon institutions; and William found means (probably, in part, by enactment in a general assembly) to impose that obligation on the greater part of the lands holden of the crown, including many of the possessions of the superior clergy and monasteries. Those who were subject to this service generally threw the burden principally on others, to whom they granted portions of their lands as subtenants, on condition of performing parts, or the whole, of the service required.

Thus was created a character in the country, military and civil, which has been often represented as proceeding solely from the Norman conquest, but which bore some similarity to institutions which prevailed under the Saxon government.

The landholders of the kingdom, holding immediately of the crown by these tenures, were denominated the king's barons, and formed the supreme legislative power under the crown, the great council of the realm, and the supreme court of justice; so far apparently not much differing from the great assembly, under the Saxon government, called the Wittenagemote; and such of the ecclesiastics as held lands subject to the same tenure formed part of the assembly.

In other respects William seems to have generally confirmed the Saxon institutions as they existed under Edward the Confessor. But he allowed a separation of ecclesiastical from lay jurisdiction, which at length produced considerable inconvenience.

According to the system thus established, the immediate tenants of the crown, both ecclesiastical and lay, formed, for the purposes of legislative and executive government, a body which might be deemed, in some degree, to represent the whole people of the realm, (clergy as well as laity, so far as the clergy held lay fees,) by the effects of subtenure, which created in the immediate tenants of the crown an interest in the welfare of the rest of the people, to enable them to perform the services reserved on their subtenures; and, as it was an especial engagement by the crown, in the creation of the superior tenures, that those who held immediately of the crown, and consequently their subtenants, should be liable to no charge, in respect of those lands, but the charges expressly reserved on the grants from the crown, it followed that the crown could impose no tax affecting the grantees of the crown, or their subtenants, without their consent.

The Saxon princes had an hereditary revenue, arising from duties on exports and imports of commodities, and other sources. But these duties probably originated in grants of the Saxon legislature; and they seem to have been considered as fixed, and incapable of increase by the power of the crown alone, without the consent of the great council of the realm.

From this source the two houses of parliament of the present day have sprung: but by what means, by what degrees, and at what times, the alterations have been made which have given to those bodies their present distinct forms and characters, are subjects involved in great obscurity. It is clear however, that the constitution of the two houses of parliament

was, by some means, fully established above five hundred years ago as it now stands ; except as it has been affected by the unions of England and Scotland, and of Great Britain and Ireland ; and except that Wales and the counties palatine of Chester and Durham, and some smaller districts, were imperfectly represented until more intimately united with the rest of the kingdom, by acts of the legislature ; and except during the convulsion produced by the contest between Charles the First and his parliament. Even that convulsion left untouched important parts of the ancient institutions of the country ; especially the institutions for the administration of justice, which were allowed to proceed in their ordinary course, during the heat of war, respected and guarded by both parties : a proof of the general conviction of the benefit derived from them, and of the attachment of the people to those ancient institutions.

That great safeguard of public and private liberty, and of property, the trial by jury, remained under the Norman government ; not only untouched, but its operation for the public benefit was improved by the institution of the circuits of the king's justices, administering justice, through the medium of jury trial, in the several shires, in cases in which the subordinate jurisdictions did not afford a competent remedy.

To trial by jury, pervading the administration of justice under the Saxon government, and preserved and improved under the Norman, the author of this history was accustomed to attribute not only the general good administration of justice, but that intelligence, and that discrimination between right and wrong, which has produced what has been sometimes called the good sense of the people of England.

In early times, every English freeholder was frequently called upon to perform the duty of a juror in a court baron, court leet, or county court ; and afterwards, according to the extent of his property, in the circuits of the judges of

assize, in the superior courts, and in various courts of civil and criminal jurisdiction. All these courts were open, and generally attended by numerous auditors; and thus the minds of the whole people of England were formed to exercise their judgment and exert their faculties in distinguishing between right and wrong; the jury in the circuit courts and superior courts acting under the guidance of a presiding judge, whose duty it was to lead them to justice, to direct and assist, but not to control them in the exercise of their judgment, which they gave under the obligation of a solemn oath.

Both judge and jury acted in the view of the public, and therefore under the wholesome control of the judgment of all around them, whether of equal, or of superior, or of inferior condition; all looked up to them as the dispensers of justice, and they felt this control of public judgment.

Upon the circuits, and in the superior courts, the jury were generally in number twelve, selected by lot from a larger number, subjected to challenge on the ground of imputed or even supposed partiality; and when twelve remained unchallenged, and sworn as jurors, they were deemed indifferent men, and generally felt an obligation to discharge their duty as such, conscious that they and every other person in the country were interested in the honest discharge of the duty of every juror.

The open examination of witnesses, their cross-examination, the exercise of superior ability to extract the truth, and the dexterity sometimes employed to conceal it, the deliberate recapitulation of the whole by the judge to the jury, pointing out the just objects for their consideration, and stating the law of the land as applied to the whole case; all done in the open view of the country, each auditor making his own comment on the whole; the subsequent consideration by the jury among themselves, producing their verdict, and the applause or censure which might follow that

verdict, had an important effect in improving the minds of all present at such trials, judges, juries, parties, and auditors.

This institution, by which justice was thus openly and, in general, impartially administered, was admirably calculated to form the minds of all men to a love of justice; to excite that love in all to whom the administration was intrusted, and in all for whose benefit justice was administered; and to create in the minds of the whole people the habit of discrimination between right and wrong, by continual exercise of their faculties on the subject.

This institution therefore was selected by Fortescue² as peculiarly marking the administration of justice in England, to which he earnestly called the attention of the prince whom he sought to instruct: and when asked, “Why in France and other countries the same institution did not prevail;” he answered, “That men were not to be found in those countries by whom justice could be so administered:” an answer which contains in itself a high eulogy of the effect of the English constitution of government, and particularly of the institution of trial by jury, which had together created and formed such men.

Whilst the reservation of military service on grants of land established a formidable army, principally of cavalry, for defence of the country against foreign enemies, there existed another important military force for the same purpose, in the obligation imposed by the Saxon institutions, and continued under the Norman government, on all freemen to provide themselves with arms, and exercise themselves in the use of those arms; for which purpose the freemen of the subordinate districts, called wapentakes, were compelled to meet at stated times, and produce the arms which the law required they should possess; and exercise in the use of those arms was continually urged: these military,

² De Laudibus Legum Angliae.

institutions, at the same time that they were a constant guard against a foreign enemy, and the latter, under the command of the sheriff of each county, was likewise important for the preservation of internal peace, created also an armed force of persons interested to control the prince on the throne in any attempt to extend his power beyond the bounds prescribed by the law. But they created no obligation for the purposes of foreign service, and the crown had no power of taxation beyond its own demesnes. For all foreign service therefore, beyond the means of its hereditary revenue, the crown was compelled to rely on the good will of its subjects; and as the deficiency of the ordinary revenue to supply the wants of the crown compelled the prince on the throne from time to time to apply to his subjects for assistance, the power to grant or withhold that relief generally secured his dependence on their good will, and his submission to that control which the institutions of the country imposed on his power.

Personal slavery has long ceased to taint the soil of England; and the number of persons whose condition in any degree resembled that of the slaves of ancient Greece, at no time during the Saxon government, or at the time of, or after, the Norman conquest, bore nearly the same proportion to the number of freemen in the country as the Grecian slaves bore to the free population of Greece. Whilst slavery remained in the country, the slaves were also more under the protection of the law than the slaves of Greece; many circumstances favored their emancipation, and, their proportion to the freemen of the country never rendering them formidable to the freemen, their numbers gradually diminished, until the character of slave was wholly lost.

There has been a disposition of late years (originating in party contests, and particularly in the party contests during the reigns of the two last princes of the house of Stuart) to assert that slavery prevailed extensively under the Saxon

institutions. The object of those party writers, who sought to give to the prince on the throne powers inconsistent with the true spirit of the ancient institutions of the country, was manifestly to misrepresent the origin of those institutions, and to find ground for asserting that the royal power was originally absolute, extending over a population of which the greater part were in a state of abject slavery. With the same view the Norman invasion was represented as an absolute conquest of England by the Duke of Normandy, superseding all the ancient institutions of the country; and it was asserted that William thus became absolute monarch by conquest.

It suited the views of these persons, the advocates of the power then attempted to be assumed by the crown, to speak of slavery as extensive under the Saxon government, and long continued under the Norman; and this misrepresentation has been lately adopted by other writers, in some instances from inattention to parts of their own narrations inconsistent with the existence of such extensive slavery, but in other instances with different views.

The ancient compilation called Domesday, made from the survey of a great part of England by the orders of the Norman conqueror, has been offered as an authority to support the assertion that slavery existed, to a great extent, under the Saxon government previously to the Conquest. According to the interpretation given for this purpose to that ancient document, there scarcely existed a freeman in the country, except the great landowners named in the survey, and their families. Every other landholder of the country, according to this interpretation of Domesday, was a slave.

The landholders named in the survey are so few that this interpretation would deny the existence of almost all the various establishments of the country, for the preservation of the public peace, for the administration of

justice, and for the internal defence of the country, which unquestionably did exist both before and after the Norman conquest; establishments in which the powers given and duties required were not only confined to freemen, but in many cases, and particularly in the administration of justice, were intrusted only to possessors of freehold land.

The existence of that establishment called the wapentake, or weapon-showing, in the districts distinguished by a correspondent appellation in the several counties, is of itself sufficient to show the falsehood of these assertions of the existence of general slavery. Arms were forbidden to slaves, as, in every country where slavery has existed, arms were generally forbidden to slaves; and therefore, in the ceremony of verbal manumission of a slave, arms were put into his hand, as the open demonstration and pledge of his freedom.

It has been asserted³ that the Conqueror divided all the lands of his kingdom into 60,000 knights' fees, (a number probably beyond the truth,) and that for every knight's fee, a knight, serving on horseback, completely armed according to the custom of knights, was bound to attend the king in war; and every knight, when engaged in such service, was usually attended by at least one squire. Where (according to the interpretation thus put on Domesday) were to be found the persons who could perform the services of 60,000 knights' fees, or even of a tenth part of that number? Where were their squires to be found? Where also were to be found those celebrated English archers, described by historians as forming an important part of an English army, both before and after the Norman conquest, and whose education in archery was an anxious subject of provision by law? We must look also in vain for those freeholders who formed the suitors in manor courts, the suitors in the hundred courts and county courts; for those freemen who were the frankpledges in the courts

³ Blackstone, b. i. c. 13.

leet of the several districts, always represented, in the earliest times, as important securities for the internal peace of the country.

It is therefore inconsistent with the history of the country, and with the nature of its various establishments, requiring the service of large bodies of freemen, and many requiring the service of such freemen as were also free-holders of land, to suppose that any large portion of the population of the country was, at the time of the Norman conquest, in a state of slavery.

It is true that slavery existed under the Saxon government; but the institutions which then prevailed were inconsistent with the supposition that a large portion of the population was in that humiliating condition. The slaves must have been few in number compared with the whole population; and the policy of the laws, both under the Saxon and the Norman government, tended to encourage the acquisition of freedom by those who were slaves; and the influence of religion had the effect of inducing many emancipations of slaves. Their number therefore was, by various means, gradually diminished, whilst the general population of freemen increased; and even in the insurrection during the minority of Richard the Second, which has been sometimes represented as an insurrection of slaves, the greater number of the insurgents were free in their persons, though generally in the lower stations of life. The insurrection aimed at the destruction of all distinction of ranks; and was founded on principles recently adopted by the French revolutionists, and by the advocates of the equal rights of man in this country. The cry was,

When Adam delved, and Eve span,
Who was then the gentleman ?

The distinction of ranks, and the distinction produced by inequality of property, were the objects marked for destruction.

Frequent emancipations, and the civil wars which were terminated by the accession of Henry the Seventh to the throne, reduced the number of slaves, till slavery at length was wholly extinguished.

This gradual diminution, and final extinction, of slavery, encouraged, not deprecated, by the government of the country, demonstrates that the slavery of any portion of the people formed no part of the system on which that government rested. On the contrary, the general character of the institutions of the Saxon government was that of a free government over the great mass of the people, administered, in a variety of its parts, by those who composed that mass; by freemen, and armed freemen; and in no country where slavery has existed, has power, in the administration of its government, been intrusted to slaves, or arms placed generally in the hands of slaves. The persons who were, either under the Saxon or the Norman government, in a state of slavery, must have been in number so inferior to the freemen in the country that they were never formidable to the freemen. They were therefore never objects of that oppression which, in other countries, where slavery has existed to a great extent, has been produced by fear; as in Greece, and especially in Sparta, where a systematic tyranny, of the most atrocious kind, was practised, to prevent the danger, more than once seriously felt, and which at all times was dreaded, from the number of those in bondage, giving them physical power superior to the physical power of the freemen, the sole possessors of political power.

The rule of the Norman conqueror was frequently severe, even as applied to his Norman and other foreign subjects. He often was compelled to stand in the situation of a general at the head of an army, rather than in that of a prince in the quiet government of a settled country: but he affected always to govern by law, and gradually brought the disturbed state to obedience to law; and whatever acts of arbitrary power

were attempted by his successors, they were often reminded that they were the heads only of a free people, and were sometimes compelled to appeal to the mass of the people for their protection against invasion of their lawful power. The government, more simple in its original construction, gradually assumed that form which was completely established in the reign of Edward the First, and which has ever since been esteemed the constitutional form. Every attempt to destroy that form, from whatever quarter it has proceeded, has finally been effectually resisted and overcome; and it has for ages produced the happiness of the people, and been the basis of their unexampled prosperity.

The author of the following volumes has repeatedly called the attention of his readers to this character of the English institutions, as contrasted with the characters of the several institutions which prevailed in Greece; and has particularly endeavoured to point out the causes of the general stability of the English form of government, through all the difficulties with which it has had to struggle in the long succession of above a thousand years; showing the advantages arising from each of its various institutions, as they attribute portions of power to various degrees of men, each institution forming a check upon every other, and the whole upon each; whilst at the head of all was placed one person, invested with great dignity and great powers, but powers which he could exercise only through the medium of others, responsible to him, and to all the people, for the due execution of those powers: the attainment of every power and every dignity, except the sovereign dignity and sovereign power, being open to all; but the sovereign power and the sovereign dignity being forbidden to all.

The view which has been here offered of the origin of the British institutions, of the general condition of the people to whom they have been from time to time applied, and of their effects on the character, internal peace, and general

prosperity of that people, and of the vast empire now under their rule, was deemed important to justify many of the political remarks made in the following volumes; and particularly the frequent observations on the evils experienced in the most distinguished states of Greece, within their narrow territories, arising from defects in their institutions, and from the unfortunate condition of a very large portion of the population placed under the rule of their governments; and at the same time to show that the institutions of those states, if they could be deemed suited to the narrow limits of their territories, and to the condition of their population, were not applicable to the very different condition of the people, and to the widely extended empire, of Britain.

If to caution his countrymen against the delusion which he conceived contemplation only of the splendor of great achievements, and extraordinary exertions of mental powers, manifested in the story of Greece, might produce in favor of the institutions of that country, by pointing out defects in those institutions, and the evils resulting from those defects; evils which he conceived had been, in a great degree, avoided by the different foundation and construction of the British institutions; and thence to urge gratitude for advantages enjoyed, and affection for the institutions from which those advantages had flowed, be a crime, the author of these volumes has been guilty of that crime. But the approbation of many gave him reason to hope that whatever may have been, in other respects, defects in the execution of his task, he so far had deserved well of his country.

He has been accused of treating too favorably the personal characters of men who had obtained supreme power in some of the republics to which his History applied.

No person, who has witnessed the malice of party towards political opponents, can refrain from doubting whether justice has been done by Grecian writers to the characters of men who attained power which the people of Greece

generally considered as an object of severe reprobation; and, abhorring the usurpation of power, were little disposed to do justice to the man by whom it was usurped, in any part of his character or conduct.

A disposition to exaggerate the faults of all who have ever been invested with power, without any regard to the difficulties with which such persons have had to contend, or the circumstances under which they have acted, is common. Candor demands from an historian a different conduct; and it is his duty to endeavour to remove the veil which prejudice may have created, and to show the characters of men as justice requires that they should be shown. The author of this history did not conceive that the character of Philip of Macedon ought to be drawn from the orations of Demosthenes, addressed to the prejudices of the Athenian people; or that the character of his son ought to be judged from relations to which entire credit might not be due. When death deprived Alexander of power, a scene ensued not very creditable to the greater part of the actors in it. Those who were eager to take advantage of his achievements were little anxious for his memory. Gratitude to their benefactor was no marked part of the character of the successors of Alexander. The author of this history therefore endeavoured to draw his character, as he endeavoured to draw the character of Philip, from what appeared to him the result of facts, to be collected from the relations of different writers, judging of their fidelity from the general temper of their works, and the objects which in their different relations they apparently had in view. He may have been deceived, and he may have been guilty of mistakes; but if either Philip or Alexander, or both, have been represented in his History in too favorable a light, let it also be considered how much they have been maligned by others; and how difficult it is, in refuting malignity, to avoid the semblance of partiality to the person vindicated.

With the critical remarks which have been made on the learning of the author the writer of this apology has not ventured to deal; conscious that his pursuits in life have not qualified him for the task, and being also aware that the unfortunate circumstances which interrupted the early education of the author, the want of control, and consequently of instruction, during his subsequent residence at Oxford, and the retirement in which he lived during the time when, without assistance, he principally applied himself to the study of Grecian literature, may have perhaps exposed him to some of those remarks.

The approbation which has been given, by foreigners as well as by many of his countrymen, to the volumes published by the author, has induced a confidence that, with all the faults which may justly be attributed to his work, it possessed that degree of merit which warranted his family in giving the assistance which they have afforded to its republication, with those corrections and additions which he had prepared, with a view to a future edition ; lamenting that the decay of health in advanced age, which had prevented the completion of his original design, had also apparently prevented his applying to the published work all the improvements which he had contemplated.

In justice to the exertions of the learned editor of the present edition, it ought to be observed, that the author, in revising his work, at different times, and in different places, and making the numerous corrections and additions which appear in the several volumes, as now published, had used different printed copies of the same volume, and loose papers referring to the several volumes : and that to collect these corrections and additions from the different copies in which they had been made, and from the loose papers referring to the different volumes, and to apply all according to the apparent intention of the author, has required much time and labor ; a duty which the learned editor has endeavoured

to discharge with strict regard to the fidelity due from him to the apparent intentions of the author.

If, in the apology here offered for some parts of the work, the writer should appear to have been too partial to the author, let it be recollected that that partiality has proceeded from affectionate remembrance of a brother.

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THE
HISTORY OF GREECE.

CHAPTER I.

History of Greece from the earliest accounts to the end of the Trojan war.

SECTION I.

State of the world before the first accounts of Greece. Assyria, Syria, and Egypt civilized; the rest barbarous or uninhabited. Geographical description of Greece. Unsettled population of the early ages. Spirit of war and robbery. Phenician navigation in the Grecian seas, and settlements on the coasts.

THE first accounts of Greece are derived from ages long before the common use of letters in the country; yet among its earliest traditions we find many things highly interesting. Known at an era far beyond all history of any other part of Europe, its people nevertheless preserved report of the time when their country was uninhabited, and their fore-fathers lived elsewhere. Among the effects of this extreme antiquity, one is particularly remarkable: the oldest traditional memorials of Greece relate, not to war and conquest, generally the only materials for the annals of barbarous ages, but to the invention or introduction of institutions the most indispensable to political society, and of arts even the most necessary to human life. Hence, while the origin of other ancient nations is matter only of conjecture for

CHAP.
I.

CHAP. I. the antiquarian, that of the Grecian people seems to demand some inquiry from the historian. Indeed here, as on many other occasions, the historian of Greece will have occasion to exercise his caution and forbearance, not less than his diligence, while he traverses regions where curiosity and fancy may find endless temptation to wander: but the earliest traditions of that country interest in so many ways, and through so many means, that he would scarcely be forgiven the omission of all consideration of the times to which they relate.

It has been not uncommon, for the purpose of investigating the properties of human nature and the progress of society, to consider MAN in a state absolutely uncultivated; full-grown, having all the powers of body and mind in mature perfection, but wholly without instruction or information of any kind. Yet whatsoever advantages may be proposed from speculation upon the subject, it may well be doubted whether a human pair in such a state ever really existed; and if we proceed to inquire whence they could come, the fortuitous concurrence of atoms fancied by Democritus and Epicurus will be found perhaps as probable an origin for them as it is possible for imagination to devise. But since the deep researches of modern philosophers in natural history, assisted by the extensive discoveries of modern navigators, through the great enlargement of our acquaintance with the face of our globe, have opened so many new sources of wonder, without affording any adequate means to arrive at the causes of the phenomena, new objections have been made to the Mosaic history of the first ages of the world; which, it has been urged, must have been intended to relate, not to the whole earth, but to those parts only with

which the Jewish people had more immediate concern. SECT.
Many however and insuperable as the difficulties occurring in that concise historical sketch may be, some arising from extreme antiquity of idiom, some perhaps from injury received in multifarious transcription, and others from that allegorical style always familiar and always in esteem in the East,¹ invention still has never been able to form any theory equally consistent with the principles of the most enlightened philosophy,² or equally consonant to the most authentic testimonies remaining from remotest ages, whether transmitted by human memory, or borne in the face of nature. The traditions of all nations and appearances in every country bear witness, scarcely less explicitly than the writings of Moses, to that general flood which nearly destroyed the whole human race; and those ablest Greek authors who have attempted to trace the history of mankind to its source all refer to such an event for the beginning of the present system of things on earth.³ Not therefore to inquire after that state of man, wholly untaught and unconnected, which philosophers have invented for purposes of speculation; nor to attempt,

¹ The original and principal purpose of that allegorical style which, whatever its advantages or whatever its inconveniences, the wisest men of antiquity never imputed either to fraud or folly in the writer, seems well explained in few words by Macrobius: ‘Philosophi, si quid de his (summo Deo et mente) assignare conantur, quæ non sermonem tantummodo, sed cogitationem quoque humanam superant, ad similitudines et exempla configunt.’ In Somn. Scip. l. i. c. 2. This subject is learnedly treated in the second volume of Bishop Warburton’s Divine Legation of Moses, and ingeniously commented upon in Goyernor Pownall’s Treatise on the Study of Antiquities.

² Pownall’s Treatise, p. 130.

³ For this the beginning of Plato’s third Dialogue on Legislation may be referred to.

CHAP. I. which were indeed beyond our object, the tracing of things regularly to their origin through the obscure and broken path alone afforded by the Hebrew writers, the subject before us seems to refer more particularly for its source to a remarkable fact mentioned by those writers, to which strong collateral testimony is found, both in the oldest heathen authors and in the known course of human affairs. Mankind, according to the most ancient historians, considerably informed and polished, but inhabiting yet only a small portion of the earth, was inspired generally with a spirit of migration. What gave at the time peculiar energy to that spirit, which seems always to have existed extensively among men, commentators have indeed with bold absurdity undertaken to explain, but the historian himself has evidently intended only general, and that now become obscure information.⁴ All history however proves that such a spirit has operated over the far greater part of the globe; and we know that it has never yet ceased to actuate, in a greater or less degree, a large portion of mankind; among whom the numberless hordes yet wandering over the immense continent from the north of European Turkey to the north of China are remarkable. The Mosaic writings then, the ge-

⁴ ‘The schemes that men of warm imagination have raised from a single expression in the Bible, and sometimes from the supposition of a fact nowhere to be found, are astonishing. If you believe the Hebrew doctors, the language of men which, till that time (the building of Babel) had been ONE, was divided into seventy languages. But of the miraculous division of languages there is not one word in the Bible.’ Dissertation on the Origin of Languages, by Dr. Gregory Sharpe, second ed. p. 24, where are some judicious observations on the Mosaic account of the dispersion of mankind.

neral tenor of tradition preserved by heathen authors,⁵ SECT. I.
and the most authentic testimonies, of every kind, of
the state of things in the early ages; vestiges of art
and monuments of barbarism, the unknown origin of
the most abstruse sciences, and their known trans-
mission from nation to nation; all combine to indicate
the preservation of civility and knowledge, under
favor of particular circumstances, among a small part
of mankind; while the rest, amid innumerable mi-
grations, degenerated into barbarians and savages.

The provinces bordering upon the river Euphrates,
supposed to have been the first settled after the flood,
were certainly among the first that became populous.
There, from the climate, the wants of man were
comparatively few, and those with little labor plen- Herodot.
tifully supplied by a soil of exuberant fertility, and l. 1. c. 193.
level to a vast extent. Cattle thus being invited to it,
beasts of prey would follow; and for relief to his people
against injury from these the first man noticed in
history as a monarch is described as a mighty hunter.⁶
The families remaining in this country, or invited by
its advantages, were not likely soon to lose the civility,
the arts, and the science of their forefathers. Accordingly, whether they retained or whether they Herodot.
invented, astronomy and dialling are reported to have l. 2. c. 109.
been known to the Babylonians at a period beyond
all means of investigating their rise; and notwithstanding the deep obscurity in which the origin of
letters is involved, every known alphabet remains yet
to be traced to the neighbourhood at least of Babylon.

* This has been largely collected by Bryant, in his Analysis of Ancient Mythology.

⁶ The geography of this country has been investigated, and Herodotus's account of it confirmed, by the diligence and judgment of Gibbon, in his History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.

CHAP.
I.

Of the families who went in quest of new settlements, or who wandered, perhaps many without any decided intention of settling, those who took possession of Egypt seem to have been the most fortunate. That singular country, given by its situation among deserts to enjoy more than insular security, offered in wonderful abundance the necessaries of life. Its periodical floods, which to the unexperienced might appear ministers only of desolation, would be known by those who had seen the Euphrates or Tigris periodically overflow their banks to be among the most precious boons of nature. From the operation of the waters of the Nile almost the whole of that strictly called Egypt receives a kind of tillage, as well

Diodor. Sic. l. 1. c. 10. & 43. & 80. as a very rich manuring; so that, beside producing spontaneously a profusion of herbs and roots, nearly peculiar to itself, which form a coarse, but wholesome food, it is moreover very advantageously prepared, by the hand of nature almost alone, for the reception of any grain that man may throw into it. The occupants of Egypt, thus invited, gave their attention to agriculture: and the fertility of the soil making the returns extraordinarily great, populousness quickly followed abundance. Polity then became necessary;

Arist. Polit. l. 7. c. 10. and accordingly we are told that in this country was constituted the first regular government: by which seems to be meant the first government in which various rights and various functions were regularly assigned to different ranks of men. Science appears to have originated in Asia. Of the arts Egypt was probably the mother of many, as she was certainly the nurse of most, while the sciences also received attention nearly in proportion to their supposed im-

Herod. 1. 2. portance to civil life. Geometry is said to have been c. 109. Diod. the offspring of the peculiar necessity of the country;

for the annual overflowings of the Nile obliterating ordinary landmarks, that science alone could ascertain the boundaries of property. The first knowledge of astronomy seems to have been brought by the Egyptians from Asia; but a very important improvement of that very erroneous calculation and inconvenient division of the year, always maintained for public purposes among the Greeks, became known to their earliest historian, Herodotus, and is attributed by him to the Egyptians. Herod. 1. 2. c. 4.

The singularly daring and unfeeling hardness, attributed by the Roman lyrist to the man who first committed himself in a frail bark to the winds and waves, appears not necessary for the origin of navigation. In so warm a climate as the middle of Asia bathing would be a common refreshment and recreation; and the art of swimming, so many terrestrial animals being seen to swim untaught, could not be long in acquiring. The first attempt at the management of a boat was thus deprived of all terror: and as it could not escape observation that wood floated naturally, and that the largest bodies floating were easily moved, the formation and use of canoes⁷ required no great stretch of invention. Every circumstance thus leads to suppose that vessels of that simple contrivance were employed on rivers before the first emigrations took place. The occupants of Phenicia, coming to the coast of the Mediterranean with these slender rudiments of naval knowledge, would find many inducements to attempt the improvement of the art. Their country, little fruitful in corn, but abounding with the finest timber, had ready communication by sea and the mouths of the Nile with Egypt; which, with all its fertility, being almost

⁷ Called by the Greeks μονόξυλα.

CHAP. I. confined to the production of annual plants, had occasion for many things that Phenicia could supply. Thus arose commerce.

Not then to extend inquiry to those remote and inhospitable, though polished regions of the East, whose history is known only from writings without an alphabet, and where the study of a long life scarcely suffices for learning to read; nor to hazard any decision concerning the mysterious claims of a people, somewhat less remote, and who appear to have enjoyed early the use of letters, but whose riches and whose weakness have conspired to expose them, from times beyond certain tradition, to continual revolutions and constant subjugation; among the inhabitants of the earth, westward of the Indus, the Assyrians and the Egyptians, with the people of the countries immediately about or between them, seem alone never to have sunk into utter barbarism. Assyria was a powerful empire, Egypt a most populous country governed by a very refined polity, and Sidon an opulent city, abounding with manufactures and carrying on extensive commerce, when the Greeks, ignorant of the most obvious and necessary arts, are said to have fed upon acorns.⁸ Yet was Greece the first country

⁸ Some modern writers, confining their ideas to the acorn of the oak, have expressed a doubt if it were a food on which men could subsist. But it is to be observed, that the words *acorn*, *glans*, βάλανος have been used in their several languages as general terms, denoting all the various fruits of the acorn and mast kind. Our old herbalist Gerard, after Galen and Pliny, reckons chesnuts among acorns, and both Xenophon and Arrian call dates palm-acorns, βάλανοι τῶν φουνίκων, (Anab. l. 2. c. 3. sec. 9.) τὰς βαλάνους τὰς τῶν φουνίκων, Arr. exp. Al. l. 6. c. 23. That the acorn or mast of a tree common in Greece would afford a wholesome nourishment for men, and yet that, in civilized times, it was not a very favorite food, we may learn from a passage in Plato's republic, where Socrates, specifying the diet to which

of Europe that emerged from the savage state; and SECT. I.
this advantage it seems to have owed entirely to its

he would confine his citizens, proposes to allow them *μύρτα καὶ φῆγοὺς*; myrtle-berries, and mast or acorns; to which Glaucon replies, ‘If you were establishing a colony of swine, what other ‘food would you give them?’ (Plat. de repub. l. 2. p. 372. t. 2. ed. Serran). Pausanias informs us that acorns continued long to be a common food of the Arcadians; not however, he says, the acorns of all oaks, *τῶν δρυῶν πασῶν*, but only of that called *fagus*, *φῆγὸς*, (Pausan. l. 8. c. 1. p. 599). Pliny also bears testimony to the superior merit of the acorn of the *fagus*, *dulcissima omnium glans fagi*; probably having the indigenous trees of Italy only then in his contemplation; for chesnuts, he tells us, were not such, having been imported from Lydia. (Hist. Nat. l. 15. c. 23.) What the tree thus spoken of by the name of *fagus* was, remains to be ascertained. I have never heard or read of acorns as food for men in modern Italy; but in Spain, according to a traveller of diligent inquiry and undoubted veracity, the peasants of the mountains, on the confines of Catalonia and Valencia, live most part of the year upon roasted acorns of the evergreen oak; a food which, he adds, he and his fellow-traveller, Sir Thomas Gascoyne, ‘found surprisingly savoury and palatable, though not very nourishing.’ (Swinburne’s Travels through Spain, letter 2, p. 85.) And in the account of a still later journey through Spain the following testimony occurs: ‘For the first two leagues (in the way from Salamanca to Alba) we ascended gradually; then entered a forest of ilex, which, as my guide informed me, stretches east and west near forty leagues. The acorns here are of the kind described by Horace, as the origin of war among the rude inhabitants of an infant world, ‘glandem atque cubilia propter;’ not austere, like those of the oak or of the common ilex, but sweet and palatable like the chesnut; they are food, not merely for swine but for the peasants, and yield considerable profit.’ Townsend’s Journey through Spain, p. 91. v. 2.

I desire allowance to observe here, that Cæsar has been very arrogantly criticised for asserting that the *fagus*, and even for asserting that the *abies* was not in his time found in Britain; and on the other hand it has been absurdly enough contended, on his authority, that the beech is not indigenous in our island. It appears abundantly evident that the tree called *φῆγὸς*, *fagus*, by Plato, Pausanias, and Pliny, was not the beech. *Abete* is

CHAP. I. readier means of communication with the civilized nations of the East.

The migrating hordes mostly found countries overgrown with wood, and inhabited only by beasts. Hunting was their ready resource for a livelihood; arms their first necessities; their life thus was passed in action: they spread far, had few neighbours, and with those few little intercourse. Such people were inevitably barbarous; but, much sooner than more civilized people, they would give inhabitants to every part of the globe. Those who came to the western coast of Asia Minor would have many inducements to cross to the adjacent islands. Security from savage beasts, and men as savage, would be the first solicitude of families; and this those islands would seem to promise in a greater degree than the continent. Other islands appearing beyond these, and beyond those again still others, navigation would become here almost a natural employment. The same inducements would extend in some degree to the shores of the continent of Greece, indented with gulfs and divided into peninsulas. But Greece was very early known to the Egyptian and Phenician navigators;

the modern Italian name for the silver fir; and I think we may reasonably believe that neither the silver fir, nor that kind of evergreen oak which bears the sweet acorn, was in Cæsar's time to be found in Britain.

Some years ago, when the foregoing remarks were written, a kind of rage had been gaining over Europe for historical scepticism and historical invention; for overthrowing whatever accounts of early times have been transmitted on best authority, and imagining new schemes of ancient history. Whatever check those deeply-interesting circumstances which have turned the attention of all minds from old history to new politics may have given to such fancies, I cannot but reckon it desirable that the just credit of such a writer as Cæsar should be vindicated, though on a matter in itself so little important.

perhaps soon after its first population; and, no part of it being very distant from the sea, the whole participated of means for civilization which the rest of Europe wanted.

SECT.
I.

This country, called by the ancient inhabitants HELLAS, by the Romans GRÆCIA, and thence by us GREECE, so singularly illustrious in the annals of mankind, was of small extent, being, if the name should be limited to that part which, in Strabo's phrase was universally allowed to be Greece, hardly half so large as England, and not equal to a fourth of France or Spain. But as it has natural peculiarities which influenced, not a little, both the manners and the political institutions of the inhabitants, a short geographical account of it may be a necessary introduction to its history.

GREECE, so limited, is included between the thirty-sixth and forty-first degrees of northern latitude, surrounded by seas, except where bordering upon EPIRUS and MACEDONIA. The inhabitants of these two countries participated of the same origin with the Greeks, were of similar manners and similar religion, and their speech differed only as dialects of the same language.⁹ But in progress of ages, and among revolutions, arose circumstances tending to hold the people southward, though divided under numerous and often hostile governments, in some degree united

⁹ Curtius, in his history of Alexander (l. 6. c. 9.), introduces mention of the Macedonian speech as not generally understood by the Greeks. So the Italian of Venice and all Lombardy even to Bologna, and that of Sicily and the south of Italy even to Naples, are unintelligible not only interchangeably, but also in the intermediate territories of Rome and Florence. Thus also it was in England less than a century ago. The dialects of Yorkshire or of Somerset, unintelligible interchangeably, were so also to the people of London and counties around.

CHAP. I. as one people, and to exclude Epirus and Macedonia from the connexion. Strabo thence, though reckoning

Strab. l. 7. p. 321. the Macedonians undoubtedly Grecian, yet, of what, he says, all allowed to be GREECE, THESSALY makes the most northern province. It is an extensive

vale, of uncommon fertility, surrounded by very lofty mountains. On the north OLYMPUS, beginning at the eastern coast, divides it from Macedonia. Contiguous ridges extend to the CERAUNIAN mountains, which form the northern boundary of Epirus, and terminate against the western sea in a promontory called Acroceraunus, famed for its height and for storms. PINDUS forms the western boundary of Thessaly, ΟETA the southern. Between the foot of mount ΟEta and the sea is the famous pass of Thermopylæ, the only way, on the eastern side, by which the southern provinces can be entered. The lofty, though generally narrow ridge of PELION, eastward, forming the coast against the Ægean sea, spreads in branches to ΟEta, and is connected by Ossa with Olympus. The tract extending from Epirus and Thessaly to the Corinthian isthmus, and the gulfs on each side of it, contains the provinces of Acarnania, Ætolia, Doris, Locris, Phocis, Bœotia, and Attica. Many branches from the vast ridges of Pindus and ΟEta spread themselves through this country. ÆTOLIA was everywhere defended by mountains with difficulty passable; excepting that the sea bounds it on the south, and the river ACHELOUS divides a small part of its western frontier from ACARNANIA. DORIS was almost wholly mountainous. The ridge of Parnassus effectually separated the eastern and western LO-

1. 9. p. 416. CRIANS. PHOCIS had one highly fruitful plain, but of small extent. BœOTIA consisted principally of a rich vale, with many streams and lakes; bounded on

the north-east by the Opuntian gulf, touching southward on the Corinthian, and otherwise mostly surrounded by the mountains PARNASSUS, HELICON, CITHÆRON, and PARNEs. The two latter formed the northern boundary of Attica; whose mountains are of more moderate height, but the soil rocky, little fruitful in corn, and less in pasture, yet producing many fruits, particularly figs and olives, in abundance and perfection.

SECT.
I.

Southward of this tract lies the peninsula of PELOPONNESUS, not to be approached by land but across the Boeotian or Attic mountains, which on each side of the isthmus rise precipitous from the sea, and shoot into the isthmus itself. The peninsula, according to the division of Strabo, contains Achaia,¹⁰ Argolis, Elis or Elea, Arcadia, Messenia, and Laconia. ARCADIA, the central province, is a cluster of mountains, bearing however, as on their shoulders, some plains, high above the level of the sea. Lofty ridges, the principal of which are TAYGETUS and ZAREX, branch

¹⁰ Or Achæa. It is in some instances difficult to decide what may be deemed the proper English orthography of Greek names. There was a time when the French fancy of altering foreign names to vernacular terminations prevailed with our writers. This inconvenient practice, utterly useless in a language which neither declines its nouns, nor has any certain form of termination for them, has long been justly exploded with us; and, excepting a very few, upon which custom has indelibly fixed its stamp, we write Latin names only as they are written in Latin. But the practice has prevailed of following the later Latin writers in their alterations of Greek names, insomuch, that, in regard to many circumstances, the rule appears established. There are however still circumstances, in regard to which no respectable authority is to be found, and, for some, precedents vary. In this uncertainty of rule, I have thought it best to approach always as near to the Greek orthography as the tyranny of custom, and, it should be added, the different character of the alphabets, will permit. [See Preface to this edition.]

CHAP. I. through LACONIA to the two most southern promontories of Greece, TÆNARUM, and MALEA. Between these the EUROTAS runs: the vales are rich, but nowhere extensive. From CYLLENE, the most northern and highest of the Arcadian mountains, two other branches extend in a south-easterly direction; one to the ARGOLIC gulf, the other, by EPIDAURUS, to the SCYLLÆAN promontory, the most easterly point of the peninsula. These include the vale of ARGOS, remarkable for fruitfulness. ACHAIA is a narrow strip of country on the northern coast, pressed upon by the mountains in its whole length from CORINTH to DYME. To avoid confusion however in the political division of the country, it must be observed that the Corinthian territory and the Sicyonian were distinct from that properly called Achaia, and till a late period were never included under the name.¹¹ ELEA and MESSENIA are less mountainous than the other Peloponnesian provinces. The latter is not only the most level of the peninsula, and the best adapted to tillage, but, in general produce, the most fruitful of Greece.

Like Italy, yet more than Italy, in large proportion a rough and intractable country, Greece nevertheless enjoyed many great and even peculiar advantages. The climate is very various. The summer-heat generally great; the winter-cold in some parts severe: but the former brings the finest fruits to perfection; the latter braces and hardens the bodies of the inhabitants, while the sea, nowhere very distant, assists extensively to temper both. The long winding range of coast abounds with excellent harbours. The low grounds afford rich herbage; the higher corn, wine,

Descrip.
Geog. du
Golfe de
Venise & de
la Morée,
par Bellin.

¹¹ Pausanias, in a late age, has attributed Corinthia and Sicyonia not to Achaia but to Argolis. Pausan. l. 8. c. 1.

and oil; and of the mountains, all producing pasture, some now bare or nearly so, were anciently to a great extent covered with variety of timber; some formed of the finest marble; some contained various valuable metals. And this variety in the surface, which gives occasion to such various produce, affords at the same time variety of climate in every season of the year.

SECT.
I.

The first emigrants who took possession of this country, if they retained the least relic of civility, could want no inducement to settle themselves in the rich and beautiful vales with which it abounds. Even the most savage, for the habitation of a family, would prefer a fruitful plain; especially where mountain-forests were every way at hand, for the resource of hunting, when the vale, ill-cultivated or uncultivated, might no longer afford subsistence. But perhaps the beasts of prey, with which the old world has always been infested so much more than the new, have contributed not a little to the quicker progress of society and civilization. The first inhabitants of Greece could hardly subsist without mutual support against the ravenous beasts of the woods and mountains, which everywhere surrounded them. Lions had made their way into Europe; and, so late as the age of Herodotus, the breed remained in a long line of wild country, from the Achelous in Acarnania to the Nestus in Thrace.

Herod. 1. 7.
c. 125, 126.
See Aristot.
Hist. Anim.
l. 8. c. 28.

In the time of Hesiod and Homer security against wild beasts was an important purpose of human society. Some degree of political association would therefore from the first be necessary to settlers in Greece: the inhabitants of every vale would constitute a state more or less regular.

But the spirit of migration seems not soon to have subsided among mankind. Many whole hordes, either dissatisfied with their settlements, or, like the Arabs

CHAP. I. and Tartars to this day, without a desire to settle, quitted the spots they had first chosen, and wandered still in quest of others:¹² and it appears to have been an universal practice when an eligible situation was overstocked with inhabitants, which might soon happen, where not only manufactures and commerce, but even agriculture was unknown or unpractised, to send out colonies, often to parts very distant. An instance occurs in holy writ, so illustrating many circumstances in early Grecian history, that it may not be improper to report it here. The patriarchs Esau Genesis, c. 35, v. 29. and Jacob, having acquired large property in herds —c. 37, v. 1. and flocks during their father's life, found their stock so increased by the inheritance on his death, that, according to the phrase in our translation, ‘it was ‘more than that they might dwell together.’ The land of Canaan, whither their grandfather Abraham had migrated from Chaldæa, ‘could not bear them because ‘of their cattle.’ In these circumstances, it was the choice of Esau, the elder brother, to emigrate. Land open to the first occupier was readily to be found, and land, perhaps for his purpose, preferable to that of Canaan. Moving accordingly with his followers and stock, he occupied Mount Seir, and left the land of his father, as an insignificant part of the inheritance, to his younger brother.

¹² Μάλιστα μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὰ Τρωϊκὰ καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα γενέσθαι τὰς ἐφόδους καὶ τὰς μεταναστάσεις συνέξῃ, τῶν τε βαρβάρων ἅμα καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὄρμῇ τινι χρησαμένων πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἀλλοτρίας κατάσασιν. Ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸ τῶν Τρωϊκῶν ἦν ταῦτα τό τε γὰρ Πελασγῶν ἦν φῦλον καὶ τῶν Καυκάσων καὶ Λελέγων εἰρηται δὲ ὅτι πολλαχοῦ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐτύγχανε τοπαλαιὸν πλανῶμενα. Strab. l. 12. p. 572. The Amsterdam edition of 1707. has πρὸς for πρὸ τῶν Τρωϊκῶν : evidently an error of the press, and indeed corrected in the Latin version: though, it should be observed, the Latin version is not always to be trusted.

In very early times we find Greece overrun by many different people, of whom the Greek writers in the most enlightened ages could give no satisfactory account. Some came by land from the north; some by sea from the east or south; some mixed amicably with the ancient inhabitants; some subdued or expelled them. The rich vales, which, without cultivation, would give large support for cattle, were the coveted territories; and these were continually changing their possessors. Of the expelled, some wandered in quest of unoccupied vales; or in their turn drove out the inhabitants of the first they came to, if they found them weaker than themselves. Others took to the neighbouring mountains; and thence, harassing the intruders, not unfrequently recovered in time their old settlement in the vale. When pressed by a superior force, any of them quitted their possessions with little regret; ‘thinking,’ as Thucydides observes, ‘that a livelihood might be had anywhere, and anxious for nothing more: for, being always uncertain when a more powerful clan might covet their territory, they had little encouragement to build, or plant, or provide in any way farther than for present need.’

Greece thus, in its early days, was in a state of perpetual marauding and piratical warfare. Cattle, as the great means of subsistence, were first the great object of plunder. Then, as the inhabitants of some parts gradually settled to agriculture, men, women, and children were sought for slaves. But Greece had nothing more peculiar than its adjacent sea; where small islands were so thickly scattered that their inhabitants, and in some measure those of the shores of the surrounding continents also, were mariners by necessity, and almost by nature. Water-expeditions therefore were soon found most commodious for

Strab. I. 5.
P. 221. &
I. 7. p. 321.
Thucyd. I.
I. c. 2.

CHAP. I. carrying off spoil. The Greeks moreover, in their most barbarous state, became acquainted with the value of the precious metals; for the Phenicians, whose industry, ingenuity, and adventurous spirit of commerce led them early to explore the farthest shores of the Mediterranean, and even to risk the dangers of the ocean beyond, discovered mines of gold and silver in some of the islands of the Ægean, and on its northern coast. They formed establishments in several of the islands; and Thasos, which had mines of both silver and gold, and moreover lay conveniently for communication with the most productive of the continent, became the seat of their principal factory. Thus was offered the most powerful incentive to piracy, in a sea whose innumerable islands and ports afforded singular opportunity for the practice. Perhaps, as Homer, not less than the later Grecian authors, insinuates, the conduct of the Phenicians towards the uncivilized nations, among whom the desire of gain led them, was not always the most upright or humane. Hostilities would naturally ensue; and hence might first arise the estimation of piracy, which long prevailed among the Greeks as an honorable practice. But whencesoever this opinion had its origin, however deserving the utmost reprobation, and however even unaccountable it may appear to civilized people who have no intercourse with barbarians, it will yet be found that equal degrees of civility and of barbarism have occasioned manners and sentiments nearly similar in all ages and all nations. It is not very long since robbery was held in esteem among the native Irish; and a hospitable highland Scottish chief, proud of his fabled descent from kings and heroes, would have boasted of his achievements in that way; in Sicily such sentiments

Strab. 1. 3.
p. 169.

Thucyd.

I. 1. c. 8.

Herodot.

I. 2. c. 44.

& I. 6. c. 47.

Odyss.

I. 20. c. 414.

Thucyd.

I. 1. c. 5.

Pennant's
Account of
Scotland.

Brydone's

even yet prevail; and among all the Arabian tribes, from the middle of Asia to the end of Africa, the idea of union between honor and robbery has been transmitted unaltered through hundreds of generations.

Account of
Sicily.
Wood on
Homer.

SECTION II.

Of the southern provinces of Greece from the earliest accounts to the Trojan war. Crete: Minos. Sicyon. Corinth. Argos: Pelasgian dominion in Greece: Egyptian colonies in Greece: Danaus: Acrisius: Perseus. Pisa: colonies from Phrygia and Thessaly under Pelops. Hercules. Atreus: dominion of the family of Pelops. Agamemnon. Lacedaemon.

Such was the wild and barbarous state of Greece before Christ 1006. in general, when CRETE, the largest of its islands, had acquired a polity singularly regular, attended of course with superior civilization. In vain however would we inquire at what precise period, in what state of society, by what exertions of wisdom and courage, and through what assistance of fortunate contingencies, so extraordinary a work was accomplished: for many centuries elapsed before written records became common; and traditions are vague, various, and, for the most part, inexplicably mixed with fable. Crete is thus a great object for the dissertator and the antiquarian. Curiosity is excited by those scanty glimmerings of information, which have preserved to us the names of the Cabiri, Telchines, Strab. l. 10. Curetes, Corybantes, Idæi Dactyli, with Saturn, p. 466. Jupiter, and other personages, either of this island, or connected with it in mysterious history. Still more it is excited by the report of a system of laws, which, in an age of savage ignorance, violence, and uncertainty among surrounding nations, is said to have enforced civil order, and secured civil freedom to the Cretan people; which became not only the Plat. Minos, & de Leg. Aristot. Polit. l. 2. Strab. l. 10. p. 480. 481. Plutarch. Lycurg. Strab. l. 10.

p. 477.
Plat. de
Leg. l. 1.
p. 631. t. 2.
ed. Serran.

model of the wonderful polity, so well known through the fame of Lacedæmon, but apparently the general fountain of Grecian legislation and jurisprudence; and which continued to deserve the eulogies of the greatest sages and politicians, in the brightest periods of literature and philosophy.

Arist. Polit. Hom. Il.
1. 13. v. 450. to Minos, a prince of the island; whose history was & Odyss.
1. 19. v. 178 however so doubtfully transmitted to posterity that it Strab. l. 10. remained undecided among Grecian writers whether p. 480.
Diodor. Sic. he was native or foreigner. Some indeed attributed l. 4. c. 62.
& l. 5. c. 79. the final improvement only to Minos, referring the first institution to Rhadamanthus, in a still earlier age; and some have supposed two princes of the name of Minos, in different periods. The evidence of Homer however, though delivered partly in the enigmatical language in which poetry often indulges, appears to determine that Minos, the only Minos

Aristot. Po. whom he knew, and, it may be added, whom Aristotle lit. l. 2.
c. 10. knew, was not of Cretan origin, but a chief of adventurers from Phenicia; that Rhadamanthus was not his predecessor, but his younger brother; and that he was the great and original legislator. Materials indeed fail for any connected history of Crete,

Plat. de Leg. l. 1.
Aristot. Po.
lit. l. 2.
c. 9. & 10.

even after the age of Minos; but there remains, from the most respectable authorities, a general account of its polity. This will not obtain from the liberal spirit of modern Europe that full approbation which it earned from antiquity. It rested upon two principles: that freemen should be all equal; and that they should be served by slaves. The law-giver therefore allowed no private property in land, nor scarcely in anything. The soil was cultivated by slaves, on the public account: the freemen ate together at public tables, and their families were

subsisted from the public stock. The monarch's authority, as we shall find generally through Greece in the early ages, except for military purposes, was extremely limited. The magistracies were wisely adapted to the spirit of the government. A severe morality was in some instances enforced by law. The youth, in the course of an education particularly directed to form soldiers, were restrained to the strictest modesty and temperance; superiority was the meed only of age and merit. But while a comparatively small society thus lived in just freedom, and honorable leisure, a much larger portion of mankind was for their sakes doomed to rigid and irredeemable slavery.

SECT.
II.Plat. de Leg. l. 1.
p. 635.p. 626. &
l. 2. p. 666.

Aristot. Polit. l. 7. c. 2.

It seems difficult to account for the first establishment of such a system, but upon the supposition that a band of adventurers, from the polished countries of the East, seizing the lands, like the Spaniards in the West-Indian islands, deprived the ancient inhabitants of arms, and compelled them to labor. Accordingly we find it remarked that the Cretan constitution was not that of a civil, but of a military community; not so much of a state as of a camp.¹³ Yet Homer enumerates five different hordes in Crete, using different dialects; all apparently free, for slaves are never reckoned among the people of a Grecian state, and all subject to the laws and government of Minos. But thus one people under three names, Angles, Jutes, and Saxons, conquered our island; and if we add the Danes, Norwegians, and Normans, who afterwards became its masters, they were all

¹³ Στρατοπέδου γὰρ πολιτείαν ἔχετε, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν ἀστεσὶ κατωκητών. Plat. de Leg. l. 2. p. 666. Vid. & Plat. de Leg. l. 1. p. 626. & Aristot. Polit. l. 7. c. 2. So Isocrates of the Lacedaemonian constitution: Πολιτείαν ὁμοίαν κατεστησάμεθα στρατόπεδῳ καλῶς διοικουμένῳ. Archid. p. 66. t. 2. ed. Auger.

CHAP. members of one nation. Homer also mentions the wealth and populousness of Crete, the wisdom of the legislator, and his singular favor with Jupiter; but the account goes no farther; and after Homer the traditions concerning Minos became peculiarly loaded with fable.

Odyss. 1. 19. v. 175. &
Iliad. 1. 2. v. 65.

Thueyd. 1. 1. c. 3.
Plat. Minos, & de Leg. 1. 4. p. 706.
Thueyd. 1. 1. c. 3. &
4. Dionys. Hal. Antiq. Rom. 1. 5.

Herod. 1. 1.
Thueyd. 1. 1. c. 4.
Plat. Minos, Arist. Polit. 1. 2. c. 10.
Plutarch. vit. Thes.
Thueyd. 1. 1. c. 7.

Some circumstances however of principal importance seem to remain sufficiently warranted for history. From a strong concurrence of testimony it appears that Minos was an able prince, who availed himself of advantages open from the command of a people formed to regular government, and not unacquainted with useful arts. Against those pirates who infested every part of the Grecian seas he kept armed vessels in constant employ; and his measures were so vigorous and judicious that he established security throughout the Ægean. Hence he has the credit, among his torians, of having been the first Grecian prince who acquired the sovereignty of the sea. By means of his fleet he extended his authority far among the islands; he was respected throughout the coast of the neighbouring continents; and he left behind him a wide reputation for wisdom, justice, and power.

Before the reign of this great prince, as that early and able historian Thucydides has asserted, such had been the excesses of piracy that all the shores both of the continent and islands of Greece were nearly deserted; the ground was cultivated only at a secure distance from the sea, and there only towns and villages were to be found. But no sooner was the evil repressed than the active temper of the Greeks led them again to the coast: the most commodious havens were occupied; the spirit of adventure and industry, which before had been exerted in robbery, was turned to commerce; and, as wealth accrued, towns were

fortified, so as to secure them against a renewal of former evils. SECT. II.

In earlier times however some settlements had been made, capable of resisting piratical attempts from the sea, and incursions of wandering freebooters by land. SICYON on the northern coast of Peloponnesus claimed, in the civilized ages, to be the oldest town of Greece. A town implies, not only an intention of settled occupancy, but also some provision against occurrences, of whatsoever kind, that might renew the necessity of migration. Some municipal government is indispensable. The town then, having more to apprehend than to hope from any political connexion with the rude people from whom it sprung, undertakes to suffice for itself, and becomes an independent state. Thus, or at least partly thus, it seems to have been that the Greek word, which we commonly translate CITY, came to signify, together with the town, its municipal government: and when we read in Grecian authors of a city founded, it is generally by the same words implied that an independent government was established. A long list of names is transmitted, as of chiefs who ruled Sicyon with that title which, in process of ages, acquired more precisely the same import with our term of king. But this list comes wholly unwarranted by Grecian writers of best authority. The history of the kings of Sicyon is moreover as uninteresting as uncertain; and till a very late period the state they governed made little figure in the affairs of Greece.

The happier situation of CORINTH, founded in a very early age in the neighbourhood of Sicyon, perhaps prevented the growth of the elder town. Near the south-western point of the neck that joins Pelo-

Strab. I. 8.
p. 379.

Liv. Hist. ponnesus to northern Greece, and within the same
 Rom. l. 45. rich plain in which Sicyon stands, a mountain-ridge,
 c. 28.
 Pausan. scarcely three miles long, rises to a height remark-
 l. 2. c. 5. able even in a country of lofty mountains. The sum-
 Wheeler's mit is at the northern extremity; three sides are
 Journey precipices almost perpendicular, and even on the
 into Greece, b. 6. p. 440.
 Pind. fourth ascent is difficult. Little beneath the pointed
 Olymp. 13. vertex is a plentiful source of pure water; which,
 so situated, might help the poets to the fancy that
 there the winged horse Pegasus drinking was caught
 by Bellerophon. This most advantageous and nearly
 inexpugnable post, by the name of Acrocorinthus,
 became the citadel; and at its foot grew the town of
 Corinth, which as early as Homer's time was noted
 for wealth acquired by commerce. By land it was the
 key of communication between northern and southern
 Greece; and by sea it became through its ports,
 one on the Saronic, the other on the Corinthian
 gulf, the emporium for all that passed between the
 east and the west, as far as Asia on one side, and
 Italy and Sicily on the other; the passage round the
 southern promontories of Peloponnesus being so
 dangerous to navigators, who before the invention of
 the compass could not safely lose sight of land, that
 it was generally avoided. Among the early princes
 of Corinth are found reported the names of Sisy-
 phus, Glaucus, and Bellerophon or Bellerophontes,
 to which poetry has given fame, but which are not
 delivered down to us objects of history.

Strab. l. 8.
 p. 378.

But the pretensions of Sicyon to superior antiquity
 among the cities of Greece are not undisputed:
 ARGOS, which was certainly the first to acquire po-
 litical eminence, has also been esteemed by some of
 the most judicious antiquarians to have had the more
 plausible claim to the earlier origin. It is said to

have been founded by Inachus, son of the Ocean ; a ^{Pausan.}
 title in the language of the age possibly implying
 that he came from beyond sea; nobody knew whence;
 or perhaps from the banks of the Nile, which is said
 to have borne in early times the name of Ocean.
 But some Grecian writers have doubted whether ^{Diod. 1. 1.}
 Inachus were ever really the name of a man, or only
 of a small river near Argos; and these attribute the
 foundation of the city to Phoroneus, whom the others
 call son of Inachus. The age of Phoroneus was in-
^{Plat. Ti-}
 deed the term beyond which, as Plato assures, nothing ^{mæus,}
^{p. 22. t. 3}
 was known of Greece; and the more probable tradition
 attributed the origin of Sicyon to Ægialeus,
 contemporary of Phoroneus, and, according to some,
 his brother.

The chronology however of these times will be
 the subject of future inquiry; which yet, here it may
 be confessed, cannot lead to certainty. Archbishop
 Usher, whose system has been most generally ac- ^{Usher's}
^{Annals.}
 cepted, supposed that Sicyon was founded two thou-
 sand and eighty-nine years before the Christian era,
 and only two hundred and fifty-nine after the Flood;
 that the foundation of Argos followed after a period
 of two hundred and thirty-three years; and that the
 reign of Minos in Crete was still four hundred and
 fifty years later. What events filled the intervals
 remains unsaid by any. Sir Isaac Newton's conjecture, ^{Newton's}
^{Chrono-}
^{logy.}
 for he has offered only conjecture, more consonant
 to the most authoritative traditions, is that Sicyon
 and Argos may have been founded nearly together,
 about one thousand and eighty years before the
 Christian era, and less than eighty before the reign
 of Minos. Indeed from the traditions preserved by
 the oldest poets, and all remaining inquiries reported
 by the most judicious Grecian prose-writers concern-

CHAP. I. ing the antiquities of their country, it appears rather probable that scarcely a wandering hunter had ever set foot in Peloponnesus so early as the period assigned by chronologers even to the founding of Argos.

But towns are not usually at once built, and a new state formed, by the natives of a country. In the more common course of things they grow so imperceptibly that not a rumor of their origin can remain. The accounts therefore which refer the foundation of the principal cities of Greece to particular eras and particular persons, tend to mark them for colonies. Amid all the darkness and intricacy of early Grecian history however a strong concurrence of testimony appears to a few principal facts. It was a received opinion among the most informed and judicious Grecian writers, that Greece was originally held by Barbarians, a term appropriated in the flourishing ages of the nation as a definition for all people who were not Greeks. Among the uncertain traditions of various hordes who in early times overran the country, the PELASGIAN name is eminent. This name may be traced back into Asia; it is found in the islands: and the people who bore it appear to have spread far on the continent of Europe, being reckoned among the earliest inhabitants of Italy. It was very generally acknowledged, as the accurate and judicious Strabo assures us, that the Pelasgians were anciently established all over Greece, and that they were the first people who became powerful there. Consonant to this appears every mention of the Pelasgians by Herodotus and Thucydides; according to the former of whom Pelasgia was once a general name for the country. But a passage of the poet Æschylus concerning this people,

See Herodotus's account of the Pelasgians; Thucydides's Introduction; Plato, Aristotle, and most particularly Strabo, b. 7. p. 321. and b. 9. p. 401. Thucyd. l. 1. c. 3. Hom. Il. l. 2. v. 347. l. 10. v. 429. & l. 17. v. 288. & 301. Odyss. l. 15. v. 175. Herodot. l. 5. c. 26. l. 6. c. 136. l. 7. c. 42. Strab. l. 5. p. 221. Dionys. Hal. Antiq. Rom. l. 1. Strab. l. 5. p. 220. 221. & l. 7. p. 327. Herod. l. 2. c. 56. Æschyl.

for its antiquity, its evident honesty, its probability, *Danaid.*
and its consistency with all other remaining evidence ^{p. 316. ed.} *H. Steph.*
of best authority, deserves particular notice. The Pelasgian princes, he says, extended their dominion over all the northern parts of Greece, together with Macedonia and Epirus, as far as the river Strymon eastward, and the sea beyond the Dodonæan mountains westward. Peloponnesus was not peopled so early; for Apis, apparently a Pelasgian chief, crossing the Corinthian gulf from Ætolia, and destroying the wild beasts, first made that peninsula securely habitable for men; and hence it had from him its most ancient name *Apia*.

It appears that in a very remote period some revolutions in Egypt, whose early transactions are otherwise little known, compelled a large proportion of the inhabitants to seek foreign settlements.¹⁴ To this event Crete may have owed its early civilization. Some of the best supported of ancient Grecian traditions relate the establishment of Egyptian colonies in Greece—traditions, so little accommodated to national prejudice, yet so very generally received and so perfectly consonant to all known history, that, for their more essential circumstances, they seem unquestionable.¹⁵ These settlers of course brought many oriental traditions; which, in process of ages,

¹⁴ That such revolutions, and more particularly that such migrations happened, appears not doubtful, though the investigators of Egyptian antiquities disagree about both the circumstances of these events, and the persons principally concerned. For this Shuckford's Connexion of Sacred and Profane History, and Bryant's Analysis of Ancient Mythology, may be consulted.

¹⁵ They are confirmed by the concurring testimonies particularly of Herodotus, Plato, Aristotle, Isocrates, Strabo, and Diodorus Siculus, with the added evidence of the popular poets Æschylus and Euripides.

CHAP. I. through the unavoidable incorrectness of oral delivery, became so blended with early Grecian story that when at length letters came into use it was no longer possible to ascertain what was properly and originally Grecian, and what had been derived from Phenicia or Egypt. Hence the abundant source, and hence the unbounded scope of Grecian fable. Hence too the variety of ingenious but discordant fancies of so many learned men concerning the truths which probably lie everywhere concealed under the alluring disguise, but which will also probably for ever evade any complete detection.

With all the intricacy of fable however in which early Grecian history is involved, the origin of the Greek nation from a mixture of the Pelasgian, and possibly some other barbarous hordes, with colonies from Phenicia and Egypt, seems not doubtful. Argos, according to all accounts, was an Egyptian colony. The first chief, whether Inachus or Phoroneus, or whatever may have been his name, brought the wild natives of the neighbourhood, it is said, to submit to his government, introduced some form of religion among them, and made a progress toward their civilization. Objects for history can be little expected among traditions concerning the early state of such a colony. But for fable the successors of Phoroneus have afforded ample matter; which yet is found universally tinged with some reference to Egypt and the East.

**Æschyl.
Prometh.
et Danaid.**

Io, daughter of one of those princes, but of which is not agreed, had, according to poetical report, an amour with the god Jupiter, was by him transformed into a cow, in that shape travelled into Egypt, and there became a goddess. Herodotus gives no improbable account, if not of the origin of this fiction, yet of the origin of its connexion with

**Thucyd.
I. 1. c. 3.**

**Pausan.
I. 2. c. 15.**

Grecian story; and, as it serves to mark the manners of the age, it may be worth relating. Some Phenician merchants, he says, brought a cargo of the manufactures of their country to Argos. The Grecian women, eager to procure toys and utensils which their own towns, yet without manufactures, did not furnish, came in numbers to the sea-shore. The Phenicians, to whom women were in the East very profitable merchandize, having allured or forced many into their vessels, and among them Io, daughter of the chief of the district, sailed away.¹⁶

SECT. II.

Herod.
l. 1. c. 1.

Among the kings of Argos is found named another personage of great fame in poetry, the Egyptian Danaus, whose fifty daughters, it is said, married on the same day the fifty sons of his brother Ægyptus, king of Egypt, and all, except Hypermnestra wife of Lynceus, killed their husbands on the wedding-night. Of this family too we have some circumstances related which characterize the times. Danaus, through what soever cause, for reports are various, finding his situation uneasy in Egypt, embarked with his family, and what followers he could collect, to seek a settlement. Failing in an attempt to establish his colony in the island of Rhodes, he proceeded to Peloponnesus; and landed near Argos, where Gelanor then reigned. The favor with which he was received by the rude inhabitants, or which he had the art quickly to acquire among them, was so extraordinary, that it inspired

Schol. ad
v. 42. l. 1.
Iliad.Isocrat.
Helen.
encom.Diodor.
l. 5. c. 58.
Æschyl.
Danaid.
Pausan.
l. 2. c. 19.

¹⁶ That these were probable circumstances we may judge from a similar story, of different persons, related by Homer, Odyss. l. 15. Bryant derives the story of Io from a very different origin. His supposition however does not at all impugn the credibility of Herodotus' anecdote, who leaves it wholly unaccounted for how the stolen princess should acquire, in a foreign country, the reputation of a goddess.

CHAP.
I.

him with the confidence to demand the sovereignty of the state as his legal right. His claim, according to the tradition transmitted, had no better foundation than a pretended descent from the Argive princess whose story has been just related. But if an Egyptian colony had before been established at Argos, an Egyptian prince might have other pretensions to interest, or even to command there. A different cause however is reported for his favor with the people. The Argives were so uninformed that, upon the failure of spontaneous fountains, they often suffered for want of water, though the ground on which the city stood abounded with excellent springs at little depth. Danaus taught them to dig wells. The boon in a hot climate was of high importance. The temper of the Greeks was warm: admiration and gratitude became the ruling passions at Argos, and produced an inclination toward Danaus so violent that Gelanor was constrained to admit him peaceably to plead his right to the sovereignty before an assembly of the people, held for the purpose in the fields without the city. The dispute was so equally maintained that it became necessary to defer the decision till the morrow. By daybreak accordingly the people were crowding out of the gate, when a wolf from the neighbouring mountains caught their attention, while among a herd grazing near the city wall he killed the bull. This was taken as an omen declaring the divine will: the bull was interpreted to signify their native prince, the conquering wolf the stranger; and the kingdom was adjudged to Danaus. Whatever credit should be given to the circumstances of these and similar stories, they convey at least the idea which the succeeding Greeks had of the manners, as well as of the history, of their ancestors. Probably they are not

Strabo,
l. 8. p. 371.Pausan.
ut sup.

wholly unfounded; certainly not the invention of SECT.
adulation and partiality: and they are the only me- II.
memorials remaining to characterise those early ages.

The people of Argos at the arrival of Danaus were, Æschyl.
Danaid.
p. 316. ed.
H. Steph. according to Æschylus, Pelasgians; and subjects of a prince whose dominion extended over all Greece, including Epirus and Macedonia. Probably the colony under Inachus or Phoroneus, little numerous, had been unable to maintain itself in independency against the ancient chief of so extensive a territory. But Danaus made his establishment firm; he transmitted it as an inheritance to his posterity; and such was the prevalence of his power and fame in Peloponnesus that, according to Euripides, the people of that peninsula, before called Pelasgians, received from him the name of Danaans, which remained to Homer's age.¹⁷

Danaus was succeeded in the sovereignty of Argos by Lynceus, his son-in-law, an Egyptian born. Acri- Pausan.
l. 2. c. 16.
Herodot.
l. 2. c. 91. sius, grandson of Lynceus, most known through the poets as father of the celebrated Danae, would much more on another account demand the notice of history, were it possible to trace and connect the cir-

¹⁷ Δαναὸς, δ πεντήκοντα θυγατέρων πατὴρ,
'Ελθὼν ἐς "Αργος φύσις" Ἰνάχου πόλισ·
Πελασγώτας δ ὀνομασμένους τοπρὶν
Δαναὸς καλεῖσθαι νόμον ἔθηκ' ἀν' Ἑλλάδα.

Strab. l. 5. p. 221. & l. 8. p. 371.

Æschylus calls Danaus and his Egyptians barbarians, and seems to consider the Pelasgians as true Greeks. Strabo, in a later age, speaks of the Pelasgians as barbarians: Πέλασγοι καὶ ἄλλοι βάρβαροι, b. 9. p. 410. But Ovid and Virgil, both much versed in the ancient Grecian traditions, frequently use the *Pelasgian* name as synonymous with *Greek*; and by the higher authority of Euripides we find Argos in Peloponnesus called "Αργος Πελασγικὸν, (Phœniss. v. 265.) and the army of the Seven before Thebes, Πελασγικὸν στράτευμα. (Phœniss. v. 107.)

CHAP. II. cumstances of his reign. We learn however only from scattered mention of him, that he acquired influence far beyond the bounds of Peloponnesus; and that he gave form and stability to a very important institution in the northern provinces of Greece, which will require more particular notice hereafter, as a principal efficient in uniting and holding together as one people the various hostile tribes who occupied the country. By what means his power became thus extended we are wholly uninformed. Some confused traditions only of troubles toward the end of his reign account for its decay. Perseus, son of Danae daughter of Acrisius, is the first Grecian recorded to posterity, even in poetry and fable, as great in deeds of arms. He stands therefore at the head of the list of those ancient warriors, whose names the poetical genius of their country has made singularly illustrious, but whose actions almost wholly elude the scrutiny of history. Perseus is the reputed founder of the city of Mycenæ, which he made the capital of his dominion. Argos was still governed by its own chief magistrate, with the title of king, but dependent upon the king of Mycenæ, who is styled by Homer, King of many islands, and of ALL ARGOS: a term which, with that author, implied the whole of Peloponnesus. The tragic poets, to whose purposes the vicissitudes in the fortune of the two cities were little important, have, as Strabo has remarked, frequently used the names indifferently, one for the other; but in history it is expedient to avoid the confusion.

Strab. 1. 7. Isocrat. Helen. encom. Strab. 1. 8. p. 321. Pindar. Olymp. 1. Contemporary with Perseus was Pelops, son of Tantalus king of Phrygia, or, according to Pindar, of Lydia. Pressed by superior force in war, it is said Pelops quitted his country with the readiness usual

Strabo, 1. 9.
p. 420.
Before
Christ,
About 1000.
{ New
ton :
1313.
Blair.

Strab.
1. 8. p. 377.
Pausan.
1. 2. c. 15.

Iliad.
1. 2. v. 108.

Strab. 1. 7.
p. 365. &
1. 8. p. 371.
& 377.

in those early ages, at the head of his partizans to seek better fortune elsewhere. Defectively as the circumstances of this prince's story are transmitted, and mingled with romantic fable, yet some of the most important remain strongly authenticated. It appears that the western provinces of Asia Minor preceded Greece in arts and civilization. This, for which we have many grounds of surmise, receives confirmation from the judicious and candid Thucydides, ^{Thucyd.} L 1. c. 9. who relates that, while the Greeks were yet barbarous and their country poor, Pelops, bringing with him treasures to an amount before unknown, quickly acquired an interest superior to that of any native. We are farther informed by Polybius, whose testimony, in itself weighty, is confirmed by Strabo and Pausanias, that Pelops was attended into Peloponnesus by a body of Achaeans from Thessaly, whom he established in Laconia. But we learn from Homer, that the Achæan name spread far in the peninsula; for he calls the Argives, with all the people of the north-eastern coast, Achæans; and he distinguishes the whole of Peloponnesus from the rest of Greece by the name of Achæan Argos. A large concurrence of tradition then affirms, that the Phrygian prince married Hippodamia daughter of Oenomaus, chief of Pisa in Elea, whom he succeeded in the sovereignty of that territory; and that in the course of a long reign he established his influence, not so much by wars as by the marriages of his numerous issue, and by his wise conduct, assisted however probably by some terror of his power, throughout the peninsula: insomuch that it derived from him the name which it retained so many ages, and which is not yet wholly obsolete.¹⁸

¹⁸ The Genoese and Venetians, in their conquests in the Levant, changed the names of many principal places of Greece and

Diod.
l. 4. c. 9.
Pausan.
l. 5. c. 13.

Homer.
Iliad. l. 14.
v. 324. &
l. 19. v. 98.
Odyss.
l. 11. v. 265.
Hesiod.
Scut. Herc.
& Theogon.
v. 943.
Pind.
Nem. 10.
Herodot.
l. 2. c. 43.

Hom. Il.
l. 5. v. 638.
& l. 11.
v. 689.

Astydamia, daughter of Pelops, was married to Sthenelus, king of Argos, son of Perseus. Their son and successor Eurystheus is known for his enmity to Heracles, or, as we usually write with the Latins, Hercules, descended also from both Perseus and Pelops. This hero (the Grecian or the Theban Hercules, as he is often called to distinguish him from some great men of other countries known among the Greeks by the same name) was born at Thebes in Boeotia, of Alcmena, wife of Amphitryon king of that city; but according to poetical report his father was the god Jupiter. In vain would history investigate the particulars of the life of this celebrated personage; whose great actions, consigned to fame by an ingenious people in the romantic age, have been so disguised with fictitious ornament, as even to have brought his existence into question. But, beside a large concurrence of other testimony, Homer leaves no room to doubt, either that there was such a Grecian prince, or who and what he was. He represents him, not that vagabond, unattended savage which later poets have feigned him; whose only covering was a lion's skin, whose only weapon a club, (an attire which he rather has owed perhaps originally to the statuaries,) and whose single strength was equal either to the discomfiture of hosts or to the labor of a thousand hardy hinds; but, on the contrary, a prince commanding armies which were the

the Grecian seas; and the French in all their writings, and, what is worse, in some of the best maps extant, have so mutilated and barbarized classical names, particularly the Greek, that a dictionary is often wanting to explain what the deformed appellations mean. The modern Greeks retain the ancient names almost universally; and generally with little deviation, often none, from the classical orthography.

ministers of his great actions. Yet while his own fame, and still more that of his posterity, who became singularly illustrious in Grecian story, forbid to pass him unmentioned, scarcely more can be done than to assign him his rank, as greatest among the heroes of that peculiarly called the heroic age; who, prompted by a spirit similar to what many ages after animated the northern and western nations, devoted themselves to toil and danger in the service of mankind and the acquisition of honest fame, opposing oppressors and relieving the oppressed, wherever to be found, and bearing thus the sword of universal justice while governments were yet too weak to wield it.¹⁹

The hatred of Eurystheus, which pursued Hercules through life, is said to have been continued after his death to his children and friends. These, compelled to quit Peloponnesus, found a generous reception at Athens. The Argive monarch invaded Attica, but, in

Herodot. l. 9. c. 27.
Thucyd. l. i. c. 9.

¹⁹ Respicе vindicibus pacatum viribus orbem,
Quà latam Nereus cœrulus ambit humum.
Se tibi pax terra, tibi se tuta æquora debent:
Implèsti meritis Solis utramque domum.

Ovid. Epist. Dejan. Herc.

An ingenious attempt to elicit history from the poetical traditions concerning the Grecian Hercules may be seen in Samuel Musgrave's Dissertation on Grecian Mythology. Remaining testimonies concerning the eastern heroes, whom the Greeks called by the same name, are collected in Bryant's System of Ancient Mythology. It is truly observed by Musgrave, that the name Heracles bears all appearance of being originally Grecian, formed by the same analogy as Diocles, Athenocles, and other Greek names. It is however well known that the Greeks continually altered foreign names, to accommodate them to their own pronunciation and to the inflections of their language: sometimes they translated them; and sometimes, by a less violent change, by the transposition or alteration of a letter or two, reduced them to bear entirely a Grecian appearance, with a meaning however totally different from the original. Bryant has collected instances of all these circumstances.

Isocr. Pan-
eg. p. 198.
t. 1. ed. Au-
ger. Strabo,
l. 8. p. 377.
Diod. Sic.
l. 4.

Thucyd.
1. 1. c. 9.
Strab. l. 8.
p. 359.
Iliad. l. 2.
v. 575.
Strabo, l. 8.
p. 383.
Pausan. l. 5.
c. 1. & l. 7.
c. 1. Iliad,
l. 2. v. 570.
Pausan.
l. 2. c. 4.

Homer.
Iliad. l. 1.
v. 185. &
278. 1. 9.
v. 32. &
seq. v. 96.
& seq. &
v. 160.
Thucyd.
l. 1. c. 9.
Isocr. Pan-
ath. p. 472.

a battle with the Athenians, was defeated and slain. This event made way for new honors and power to the family of Pelops. Atreus, son of that prince, and uncle of Eurystheus, had been entrusted by his nephew with the regency of his Peloponnesian dominions during the Attic expedition. On the death of Eurystheus, Atreus assumed the sovereignty; the greatness of his connexions, and the popularity of his character, (such is the opinion which Thucydides has professed,) precluding competition. The claims of the Persidean and Pelopidean families thus, by right or violence, united in the house of Pelops, extended over all, or nearly all, Peloponnesus. Elea had been inherited from Œnomaus. Laconia, including, according to Strabo, great part of Messenia, was occupied by the colonies from Phrygia and Thessaly, which had followed the fortune of Pelops. Achaia, then called *Ægialos* or *Ægialea*, with Corinth, was of the particular domain of Mycenæ. Still several cities of Peloponnesus had each its chief, presiding over its municipal government; and the degree of dependence of these upon the paramount sovereign was little exactly defined by either compact or custom: but the superiority of the head of the house of Pelops in rank, and his claim to military command, appear to have been undisputed. Under these advantageous circumstances, the Argive sceptre devolved to Agamemnon, son or grandson of Atreus; for the succession is variously related.²⁰ Tradition is

²⁰ Homer says that the sceptre presented from Jupiter by Mercury to Pelops, was given by him to Atreus, who at his death left it to Thyestes, who bequeathed it, with the sovereignty of all Argos and many islands, to Agamemnon.* He mentions nothing of the murder of Chrysippus, eldest son of

* Iliad. l. 2. v. 103.

however uniform concerning a circumstance of more historical importance, an accession of fortune which brought all the southern part of Peloponnesus under the dominion of Agamemnon.

The city of LACEDÆMON, otherwise called SPARTA, was founded at a period beyond certain memorials. It appears from Homer to have been among the most considerable of the remote ages, but is little known for any remarkable personages or events till the reign of Tyndareus, whose wife, the poetical Leda, was mother of the celebrated brothers Castor and Polydeuces, or, as the Romans abbreviated the name, Pollux, and the still more celebrated sisters Clytemnestra and Helen. The brothers, afterward for their heroic deeds deified and numbered among the signs of the zodiac, died in early manhood. The sisters were married, Clytemnestra to Agamemnon, and Helen to his brother Menelaus. Thus, by inheritance through these princesses, a large and valuable domain

Pelops, by Atreus, nor of any of those horrors of domestic discord between the surviving brothers which in after ages filled the scenes of the tragic poets, and found place even in the narration of grave historians. The flight of Atreus from his father's residence, on account of the death of Chrysippus, is indeed mentioned by Thucydides,* but nothing farther. The scholiast on Homer† reports, that Atreus dying bequeathed his kingdom to his brother Thyestes, on condition that he should resign it to Agamemnon son of Atreus on his attaining manhood, and that Thyestes faithfully executed the trust. Æschylus, Strabo, and Pausanias agree with the scholiast‡ in calling Agamemnon and Menelaus sons of Atreus. Others§ have supposed them his grandsons by his son Plisthenes, who died young. The general notoriety only, it should seem, of the parentage of Agamemnon in Homer's age could occasion his neglect to particularize it, while so carefully recording the pedigrees of many inferior personages.

* Thucyd. l. 1. c. 9.

† Iliad. l. 2. v. 107.

‡ Æschyl. Agamem. Strab. l. 8. p. 372. Pausan. l. 3. c. 1.

§ Clem. Alex. in Strom.

CHAP. accrued to the house of Pelops. The command of Lacedaemon was given to Menelaus. But the time to which we approach being distinguished by that very celebrated event the Trojan war, one of the great epochs of Grecian history, it will be necessary, before proceeding farther in the account of Peloponnesus, to offer such a view as remaining memorials may furnish of the rest of Greece.

SECTION III.

Of the northern provinces of Greece from the earliest accounts to the Trojan war. Thessaly: Tempe: Deucalion's flood: Centaurs: Jason: Argonautic expedition. Bœotia: flood of Ogyges: Thebes. Ætolia. Attica: Cecrops: Athens: Ægeus: Theseus: Ariadne. Improvement of the Athenian government by Theseus. The Athenians the first civilized people of Greece.

Of the provinces without the peninsula, two by their fruitfulness mostly attracted the attention of emigrants, THESSALY and BŒOTIA; and the natural circumstances of these were extraordinary. Through the middle of the former runs the river Peneus, which, receiving in its course along the plain many smaller streams, and the overflowings of two considerable lakes, forces its way into the sea through the narrow valley of Tempe, between the mountains Olympus and Ossa. A country thus abounding with waters, and inclosed by mountains, could not but be subject to inundations. Herodotus, whom here, as elsewhere, Strabo has not disdained to follow, relates a tradition that Thessaly was originally one vast lake, without visible outlet; till an earthquake, rending Olympus from Ossa, formed the valley of Tempe. Still the frequency of smaller floods appears to have co-operated with that fruitfulness of soil, which invited rapine, in making Thessaly yet more subject to

Herodot.
I. 7. c. 129.
Strab.
I. 8. p. 430.

revolutions in its population than any other Grecian province; and hence perhaps Homer was the better enabled to attribute to his hero Achilles, the principal chieftain of those parts at the time of the Trojan war, the honor of having a goddess for his mother, and for his father a mortal indeed, but only second in descent from Jupiter.

SECT.
III.
Plat. de
Rep.
I. 3. p. 391.
Schol. ad
v. 14. l. 16.
Iliad.

THESSALY however, unless Crete should be excepted, was the oldest object of poetical story and popular tradition of any part of Greece; and, if means remained for investigation, were perhaps the worthiest of historical curiosity. Kings there are said to have extended their dominion southward as far as the Corinthian isthmus, and to have left monuments of their wisdom surviving almost all memory of their power. These will require future notice. Thessaly was among the Greeks famous for its horses, and for the turn of its people to horsemanship; the mountainous character of most of the rest of the country nearly denying the breed and even the use of horses. Hence may have arisen the story of the Centaurs. Whether those poetical people were native Thessalians, or foreign invaders who settled in Thessaly, the traditional character of the Centaur Chiron seems to imply that they were a people superior in acquirements to the southern Greeks of their age.²¹ From the port of

Plat. Men.
t. 2. p. 70.
& Hip. Maj.
t. 3. p. 284.

Xenoph. de
venat. c. 1.

²¹ The most inquisitive and judicious of the ancient antiquarians appear to have been at a loss what to think of the Centaurs. Strabo calls them ἀγριόν τι φῦλον,* a mode of expression implying his uncertainty about them, while he gives them an epithet for which no reason appears. Hesiod † and Homer never speak of them as a savage race, and apparently knew nothing of their equine form; which, if not an Egyptian invention, seems the result of the ingenuity of later ages. The

* Strab. l. 9. p. 439.

† Sc. Herc. v. 184.

CHAP. Iolcus too, in Thessaly, it is said, proceeded the celebrated expedition of the Argonauts. Though we do not believe all the romantic, and still less the impossible tales which poets, and even some grave historians, have related of those famous adventurers; though aware of the mixture of eastern tradition with early Grecian history, of the unavoidable confusion of chronology through a long course of oral delivery, and of the blending of events of distant countries and

scholiast on Homer indeed says that, where Nestor, in the first book of the Iliad,* speaks of mountain beasts destroyed by Theseus, he means the Centaurs; but this interpretation seems violently far fetched, and as unwarranted as unnecessary, while the meaning of the words in their common acceptation is obvious, and perfectly consonant to every account of the state of things in that age. Nor does the scholiast seem better founded in supposing that the Centaurs are intended, in the second book of the Iliad,† under the description of hairy wild beasts of mount Pelion. On the contrary, in the Odyssey ‡ the Centaur Eurytion, whose very name imports a respectable character, is mentioned with the honorable epithet ἀγαλυτὸς, not likely to be given to one of a horde fit to be described by the gross appellations of mountain beasts or hairy savages. He behaved ill; but it was in great company; and it is expressly mentioned as an extraordinary circumstance, the consequence of accidental drunkenness. The story indeed seems to be intended by the poet as an instance that persons of highest rank and most respectable character, if they yield to intemperance, reduce themselves for the time to a level with the lowest and most profligate, and are liable to suffer accordingly. Pindar, in his 3d, 4th, and 9th Pythian Odes, and 3d Nemean, describes the Centaur Chiron as a most paradoxical being, which yet in the fourth Pythian he has defined in two words, φῆρ θεῖος, a godlike wild beast. But even in Xenophon's time, it should seem, the term Centaur did not of itself discriminate the imaginary animal half man and half horse; for that author, wanting to particularize such animals, never calls them simply Centaurs, but always Hippocentaurs, Horse-centaurs. Cyropæd. b. 4.

* v. 268.

† v. 743.

‡ l. 21. v. 295.

different ages; yet it seems unreasonable to discredit entirely the Argonautic expedition; which, on the authority of ancient writers, and with perfect consonance to probability and the character of the times, may be related thus. Jason, a youth of high birth, high spirit, and superior bodily accomplishments, circumstances which excited a jealousy that made his situation uneasy at home, was ambitious of conducting a pirating expedition, then an honorable undertaking, to a greater distance than any had ventured before him. Assisted by the wealth and power of his uncle, who was prince of the district, and by the skill of a Phenician mechanic, he built a vessel larger than had hitherto been common among the Greeks. B.C. 937. N. 1263. B. His own rank and character, together with the fame of his ship, induced young men of distinction from other parts of Greece to join in the adventure. They directed their course to Colchis, on the eastern coast of the Euxine sea, a country in some degree civilized; according to Herodotus, by an Egyptian colony; and inviting by its mines of gold, silver, and iron. They encountered many difficulties, and suffered some loss; and their success upon the whole appears doubtful; but in one great object of the ambition of the age their chief at least was gratified: the princess Medea, daughter of the king of the country, went off with him and passed into Greece. According to Strabo and Arrian, it was the practice to collect gold on mount Caucasus, by extending fleeces across the beds of torrents: the water passing, the metallic particles remained entangled in the wool: and hence, according to those informed and judicious writers, the adventure was named the expedition of the golden fleece.

The natural circumstances of BœOTIA were yet more extraordinary than those of Thessaly. It is a

SECT.

III.

Pindar.

Pyth. 4.

Diod.

l. 4. c. 41.

Justin.

l. 42. c. 2.

Herodot.

l. 2. c. 104.

Strab.

l. 1. p. 45.

Strab.

l. 11. p. 499.

Arrian. de

Bell. Mi-

thridat.

CHAP. I. vale, full of subterranean caverns, and peculiarly subject to earthquakes. The surrounding mountains pouring in their streams on all sides form rivers and lakes, without any such advantageous and permanent outlet as the valley of Tempe gives to the waters of Thessaly. By the concussions of the earth water-courses were stopped, and the stream found a new channel, sometimes underground: even lakes were laid dry and new lakes formed, and, with the cultivated country, towns were overwhelmed by the waters. The flood of Ogyges was probably an inundation in this country, unusually destructive, which drove the surviving inhabitants to seek safety in the adjoining hilly province of Attica. The flood of Deucalion was a calamity of the same kind in Thessaly, or, according to Aristotle, rather in the western provinces about Dodona and the river Achelous. The same season might possibly produce similar consequences in all; and the ignorance of aftertimes, confounding the traditions of these partial floods with imperfect reports remaining concerning the general deluge, produced that field for fable and poetical invention of which Grecian ingenuity has made such ample use.

These natural calamities, to which Boeotia was so liable, were not sufficient to induce the inhabitants finally to desert a country of such fertility, or to deter adventurers from endeavouring to establish themselves there. Cadmus, leading a colony, immediately from Phenicia, but originally, according to the supposition of many, from Egypt, is said to have founded the celebrated city of Thebes.²² It appears

B. C.
1045. N.
1493. B.
Strab. 1. 9.
p. 401.
Isocrat.
Helen.
encom.

²² The late very learned R. Payne Knight, in his treatise on symbolical language, p. 12. has mentioned the whole story of Cadmus and the colony as, in his expression, *extremely questionable*. All traditional story will be more or less questionable;

indeed that in process of ages Bœotia, as well as Thessaly, became less subject to those desolating inundations. A principal relief was derived, according to Strabo, from the accidental forming of a subterranean opening, by which the river Cephisus, and the overflowings of the lake Copais, formerly destitute of any known vent, were discharged into the sea. No part of Greece was more fruitful in matter for fable and poetry than Thebes. The stories of Cadmus himself, of Semele, Bacchus, Antiope, Zethus, Amphion, Amphitryon, Alcmena, Hercules, Laius, Jocasta, Œdipus, Eteocles, Polynices, may be read with pleasure and advantage in the works of the Greek and Latin poets, but scarcely elsewhere. From those stories however we may collect that Thebes was, in that remote age, one of the most flourishing and powerful cities of Greece.²³ The war which it sustained against the seven chiefs, authenticated by Hesiod and Homer, and made illustrious by the tragedy of Æschylus and the epic poem of Statius, is the first instance recorded of a league among Grecian princes, and of anything approaching to regular war.

The Ætolians, in these early times, were not inferior to their neighbours in civilization, or in consequence among the Grecian people. Poetry has immortalized their heroes Tydeus, Meleager, and others. Homer adverts, in two lines, strongly marked

B. C.
928. N.
1225. B.
Hes. Op. &
Di. l. 1.
v. 160.
Il. l. 4.
v. 377. l. 6.
v. 223. &
l. 14. v. 114.
Odys.
l. 15.
v. 247.

Iliad.
1. 2. v. 641.

and where not wholly undeserving attention, we have only to gather the probable as we best may. There seems however no improbability in the transmitted report that a man from the eastern part of the Mediterranean, (whether Phenicia or Egypt, and whether Cadmus were his name, or only his designation,) either founded Thebes, or provided for its future eminence.

²³ ————— τὰ μέγιστ' ἐπιμάθης

Ταῦς μεγάλασιν ἐν Θῆβαις ἀνδσσων.

Sophocl. Œdip. Tyr. v. 1202.

CHAP. I. by that power which he singularly possessed of expressing the deepest pathetic in the simplest terms, to the catastrophe of the family of Æneus, king of the country, as to a story well known among his contemporaries. Thoas, commander of the Ætolian *Iliad. 1. 15.* troops at the siege of Troy, is represented, not only *v. 284.* as a leader of general merit, but eminent for his *Strabo, 1. 8.* eloquence. Their towns, Calydon and Pleuron, were *p. 450.* among the principal of Greece. Hereafter we shall find great inferiority in the comparative progress of the Ætolians. The adjoining people of Acarnania, alone of all the Greeks, had not the honor of partaking in the Trojan war; and for some centuries after that event these western provinces had little communication with the rest of the country. Phocis, Doris, and Locris are also little objects of history; but Attica, were it only for its subsequent fame, will demand some notice of its early traditions.

Usher's Chronol. Hist. of Greece by Cousin Despreaux. OGYGES has had the reputation of being the first King of ATTICA; and chronologers have undertaken even to fix the time of his reign. It is set by some above two hundred, and by the most moderate a hundred and fifty years before the next event, and even before the next name of a man recorded in Attic history. But no assurance remains that even the name of Ogyges was known to the older Grecian authors.²⁴ If any thing can be gathered from the traditions concerning such a personage, reported by later writers of best authority, it is that, at some period too far beyond connected history for any calculation of its date, a flood, desolating the rich fields

²⁴ Ogyges, I believe, is not mentioned by Hesiod, Homer, Herodotus, Thucydides, Plato, Aristotle, or even Strabo; to all of whom, apparently, he must have occurred for mention, had his story, if known in their times, had any credit.

of Bœotia, over which he reigned, drove many of the inhabitants to establish themselves in the adjoining country of Attica, hilly, rocky, and little fruitful, yet preferable to the mountainous tracts every other way surrounding their former settlements. Both Strabo and Pausanias mention a tradition that anciently there had been towns in Bœotia called Athens and Eleusis, which had been overwhelmed by a deluge. But in the very early ages we find the same names given to various places, often widely distant; a circumstance probably owing to the frequency and extent of migration, while the variety of language over the world was little. Thus, beside the Bœotian Thebes and the vast capital of Upper Egypt, there were towns of the same name in Pamphylia, in Mysia, and in Thessaly: the name of Larissa was yet more common through Greece and Asia Minor; and, beside the Argos in Peloponnesus, there was an Argos in Thessaly, another in Acarnania, and a fourth in Italy. Strabo says that Bœotia was anciently called Ogygia.²⁵ From the time of Euripides at least to that of Pausanias, one of the gates of Thebes in Bœotia was called the Ogygian gate, and Sophocles calls the city Ogygian Thebes; but the early Æschylus gives the epithet Ogygian to Thebes on the Nile. That Egypt was its original country seems a ready inference, which may claim its share amongst matters for question.

SECT.
III.

Strabo,
l. 9. p. 407.
Pausan.
l. 9. c. 24.

Strabo,
l. 9. p. 440.

Eurip.
Phœn.
v. 1130.
Pausan.
l. 9. c. 8.
Soph. Ed.
Col. v. 1853.
Æschyl.
Pers. v. 39.

²⁵ He adds, that it was then under the government of Cecrops. It is certainly a probable conjecture of the learned Bryant that the oriental manner of expression, by which a name in the singular signified a people, as Israel often meant the whole people descended from the patriarch Israel, may have led to much confusion in Grecian tradition. Cecrops, Cranaus, Cadmus, and other names, open wide fields for conjecture, in which however it were little proper for the historian to expatiate.

CHAP. With Ogyges however even rumor of events in

I.

B. C. Attica ceases, till Cecrops became prince of the
1080. N. province; leading thither, according to the most
1556. B. received and probable accounts, a colony from Egypt.

According to every account, he found the natives a wild and ignorant people; a circumstance favoring his purpose of forming a settlement. The country also, though not offering the most alluring prospect to the vulgar covetousness of the age, was yet, to the more informed and penetrating eye, far from uninviting. On the verge of a plain, watered by two small streams, a haven presented itself, commodious for the vessels of the time. Between the streams, near their junction, about three miles from the shore and five from the haven, a rock rising nearly perpendicular on all sides had every advantage for a fortified post. Precisely this union of circumstances was what the early Greeks most desired for the situation of a city. Such was that of Argos with its citadel Larissa and port Nauplia, of Corinth with the Acrocorinthus and Port Lechæum, and many others; and Edinburgh, with its castle-rock and Leith its port, affords a perfect exemplification of it. Mountains, but not of that formidable height common through Greece, at some distance surrounded the plain; which, though not of the first fertility, appeared yet not adverse to cultivation. Cecrops occupied the rock; and, how far by force, how far by persuasion, we are uninformed, he extended his dominion over the whole tract afterward called Attica. This territory he

Strabo,
L 9. p. 397.
Plutarch.
Thes.

divided into twelve districts, with a principal town, or rather perhaps village, in each, where he caused justice to be administered according to some salutary laws which he established: and he taught his subjects a more regular and effectual mode of defence

against the incursions of the Bœotians, their only borderers, from which even their poverty did not exempt them; for in all times neighbour and enemy, in the language of politics, have been nearly synonymous. The fortress, which he made his residence, was from his own name called Cecropia, and was peculiarly recommended to the patronage of the Egyptian goddess whom the Greeks worshipped by the name of Athena, and the Latins of Minerva. Many, induced by the neighbourhood of the port, and expecting security both from the fortress and from its tutelary deity, erected their habitations around the foot of the rock; and thus arose early a considerable town, which, from the name of the goddess, was called Athenai, or, as we after the French have corrupted it, ATHENS.

This account of the rise of Athens, and of the origin of its government, though possibly a village, and even a fortress, may have existed there before Cecrops, is supported by a more general concurrence of traditionary testimony, and more complete consonancy to the rest of history, than is often found for that remote age. The subsequent Attic annals are far less satisfactory. Strabo declines the endeavour to reconcile their inconsistencies; and Plutarch gives a strong picture of the uncertainties and voids which occurred to him in attempting to form a history from them. ‘As geographers,’ he says, ‘in the outer parts of their maps distinguish those countries which lie beyond their knowledge with such remarks as these, *All here is dry and desert sand, or marsh darkened with perpetual fog, or Scythian cold, or frozen sea*; so of the earliest history we may say, *All here is monstrous and tragical land, occupied only by poets and fabulists.*’

Strabo,
1. 9. p. 392.

Plut. v.
Thes. init.

CHAP. I. If such apology was reckoned necessary by Plutarch for such an account as could in his time be collected of the life of Theseus, none can now be wanting for omitting all disquisition concerning the four or seven kings, for even their number is not ascertained, who are said to have governed Attica from Cecrops to Ægeus, father of that hero. The name of Amphictyon indeed, whose name is in the list, excites a reasonable curiosity: but as it is not in his government of Athens that he is particularly an object of history, farther mention of him may best be reserved for future opportunity.

Various, uncertain, and imperfect then as the accounts were which passed to posterity concerning the early Attic princes, yet the assurance of Thucydides may deserve respect, that Attica was the province of Greece in which population first became settled, and where the earliest progress was made towards civilization. Being nearly peninsular, it lay out of the road of emigrants and wandering freebooters by land; and its rocky soil, supporting few cattle, afforded small temptation to either. The produce of tillage was of less easy removal; and the gains of commerce were secured within fortifications. Attica therefore grew populous, not only through the safety which the natives thus enjoyed, but by a confluence of strangers from other parts of Greece: for when either foreign invasion or intestine broil occasioned anywhere the necessity of emigration, Athens was the resort in highest estimation, not only as a place of the most permanent security, but also as strangers of character, able by their wealth or their ingenuity to support themselves and benefit the community,

Thucyd. ib. were easily admitted to the privilege of citizens.

Thucyd. 1. 2. c. 15. But, as population increased, the simple forms of

government and jurisprudence established by Cecrops ^{Iliad.}
were no longer equal to their purpose. Civil wars
arose : the country was invaded by sea : Erechtheus,
called by later authors Erichthonius, and by the
poets Son of the Earth, acquired the sovereignty,
bringing, according to some not improbable reports,
a second colony from Egypt.²⁶ Eumolpus, with a
body of Thracians, about the same time established
himself in Eleusis. When, a generation or two later,
Ægeus, contemporary with Minos, succeeded his
father Pandion in the throne, the country seems to
have been well peopled, but the government ill con-
stituted and weak. Concerning this prince however,
and his immediate successor, tradition is more ample ;
and though abundantly mixed with fable, yet in many
instances apparently more authentic than concerning

I. 2. v. 158.
Isocr. Pan-
ath. p. 510.
& 561.

Diod.
l. 1. c. 29.

B. C.
1035. N.
1487. B.
Lycurg.
con. Leocr.
p. 201. t. 4.
Or. Gr. ed.
Reiske.
Strabo,
l. 7. p. 321.
Pausan.
l. 1. c. 38.
B. C.
994. N.
1233. B.

²⁶ It is clear, as Sir Isaac Newton has observed, that Homer describes* under the name of Erechtheus the same prince whom the chronologers, and even Pausanias, would distinguish from Erechtheus by the name of Erichthonius. The name of Erichthonius as an Athenian is mentioned by Plato ; † but with no more authority for inserting it in the list of Athenian kings than the name of Erisichthon which occurs in the same passage. On the contrary, as Newton has farther justly observed, ‡ Plato himself has called that prince Erechtheus whom later writers call Erichthonius. Isocrates says that Erichthonius, son of Vulcan and the Earth, succeeded Cecrops, who died without male issue. § Nor is there any appearance of the second Cecrops and the second Pandion being known to the earlier Grecian writers ; or even to Trogus Pompeius, if we may trust his epitomizer. || Pausanias indeed thought he had discovered authority for them ; yet the very manner in which he has related the succession of Athenian kings shows that what he has reported was before little known, and remained for him in a very late age to investigate.

* Iliad. 1. 2. v. 547.

† Critias, p. 110. t. 3. ed. Serran.

‡ Chronol. p. 144.

§ Isocr. Panathen. p. 510.

|| Justin. l. 2. c. 6.

CHAP. any other persons of their remote age. Plutarch has I. thought a history of Theseus, son of Ægeus, not unfit to hold a place among his parallel lives of the great men of Greece and Rome ; and his account appears warranted in many points by strong corresponding testimony from other ancient authors of various ages. The period also is so important in the annals of Attica, and the reports remaining altogether go so far to illustrate the manners and circumstances of the times, that it may be proper to allow them some scope in narration.

Ægeus, king of Athens, though an able and spirited prince, yet in the divided and disorderly state of his country with difficulty maintained his **Plut. Thes.** situation. When past the prime of life he had the misfortune to remain childless, though twice married ; and a faction headed by his presumptive heirs, the numerous sons of Pallas his younger brother, gave him unceasing disturbance. Thus urged, he went to Delphi to implore information from the oracle how the blessing of children might be obtained. Receiving an answer which, like most of the oracular responses, was unintelligible,²⁷ his next concern was to find some person capable of explaining to him the will of the deity thus mysteriously declared. Among the many establishments which Pelops had procured for his family throughout Peloponnesus was the small town and territory of Trezen on the coast opposite to Athens, which he placed under the government of his son Pittheus. Ægeus applied to that prince ; who was not only in his own age eminent for wisdom, but of reputation remaining even in the most flourishing period of Grecian philosophy ; yet so little was he superior to the ridiculous,

²⁷ "Ωσπερ ὁ Λοξίας, οὐδὲν ἀποσταφεῖς. Lucian. vit. auct.

and often detestable superstition of his time, that, in consequence of some fancied meaning in the oracle, which even the superstitious Plutarch confesses himself unable to comprehend, he introduced his own daughter Æthra to an illicit commerce with Ægeus. Perhaps it may be allowed to conjecture that the commerce was unknown to the Trœzenian prince till the consequence became evident, and that the interpretation of the oracle was an ensuing resource to obviate disgrace.

Before Cecrops, if we may believe traditions received in the polished ages, the people of Attica were in knowledge and civilization below the wildest savages discovered in modern times. The most necessary arts, and the most indispensable regulations of society, were unknown to them. Marriage was introduced by Cecrops: the culture of corn is said to have been of later date. But the colonies from Egypt, Phenicia, and Thrace quickly made the Atticans a new people. At a period far beyond connected history all the principal oriental tenets and maxims of society are reported as firmly established among them. Marriage was held highly sacred;²⁸ virginity in mysterious respect; infidelity in a wife deeply disgraceful, but concubinage for the husband as lawful as it was common; bastardy little or no stain upon children; and polygamy, apparently, and divorces equally unknown. Ægeus had a wife living at the time of his visit to Pittheus; and marriage seems on that occasion to have been intended by no party. Æthra however proved shortly preg-

Justin.
l. 2. c. 6.

²⁸ Εὐτὴ γὰρ ἀνδρὶ καὶ γυναικὶ μορσίμη,
Ὀρκου τε μείζων τῇ δίκῃ φρουρούμενη:—

A declaration which Æschylus puts into the mouth of Apollo himself. Æschyl. Eumen. p. 279. ed. H. Steph.

CHAP.
I.Plutarch.
Thes.
Pausan.
l. l. c. 27.

nant; while the affairs of Attica in great confusion required the return of Ægeus. His departure from Trœzen is marked by an action which, to persons accustomed to consider modern manners only, may appear unfit to be related but in a fable, yet is so consonant to the manners of the times, and so characteristical of them, as to demand the notice of the historian. He led Æthra to a sequestered spot where was a small cavity in a rock. Depositing there a hunting-knife²⁹ and a pair of sandals, he covered them with a marble fragment of enormous weight; and then addressing Æthra, ‘If,’ said he, ‘the child you now bear should prove a boy, let the removal of this stone be one day the proof of his strength; when he can effect it, send him with the tokens underneath to Athens.’

Pitheus, well knowing the genius and the degree of information of his subjects and fellow-countrymen, thought it not too gross an imposition to report that his daughter was pregnant by the god Poseidon, or, as we usually call him with the Latins, Neptune, esteemed the tutelary deity of the Trœzenians. A similar expedient seems indeed to have been often successfully used to cover the disgrace which, even

²⁹ The Greeks of the heroic age usually carried two weapons of the sword kind, one called *ξίφος*, the other *μάχαιρα*, very different one from the other, but commonly both rendered in English by the word **SWORD**. The Xiphos was a large broad-sword; the Machaira was but a large knife, and used for the purpose of a knife equally and a weapon, as it has remained commonly carried by the Italians to this day. Plutarch, who is not always solicitous about accuracy, describing the depositing of the weapon by Ægeus, calls it the Xiphos: the story which he afterwards relates induces the necessity that it should become the Machaira. For authority for the distinction, Homer's Iliad may be seen, b. 3. v. 271. b. 11. v. 843. and b. 19. v. 252.

in those days, would otherwise attend such irregular amours in a lady of high rank, though women of lower degree appear to have derived no dishonor from concubinage with their superiors. Theseus was the produce of the singular connexion of *Æthra* with *Ægeus*. He is said to have been carefully educated under the inspection of his grandfather, and to have given early proofs of uncommon vigor both of body and mind. On his attaining manhood, his mother, in pursuance of the injunction of *Ægeus*, unfolded to him the reality of his parentage, and conducted him to the rock where his father's tokens were deposited. He removed the stone which covered them, with a facility indicating that superior bodily strength, so necessary in those days to support the pretensions of high birth; and thus encouraged she recommended to him to carry them to *Ægeus* at Athens. This proposal perfectly suited the temper and inclination of Theseus; but when he was farther advised to go by sea on account of the shortness and safety of the passage, piracy being about this time suppressed by the naval power of Minos king of Crete, he positively refused.

The journey by land was more than four times longer, and highly dangerous. That age, says Plutarch, produced men of extraordinary dexterity, of extreme swiftness, of unwearyed strength; who used those natural advantages for no good purpose, but placed their enjoyment in the commission of insult, outrage and cruelty, esteeming the commendations bestowed upon modesty, righteousness, justice, and benevolence, as proceeding from fear to injure or dread of receiving injury, and little becoming the powerful and the bold. Strange as these principles may appear, we find them reported by Plato as not

Plat. de Rep. l. 2. p. 364. & seq. t. 2. obsolete in his time, but on the contrary held by many, and even maintained in disputation. The picture indeed seems that of all countries, where, with a competency of inhabitants, a regular and vigorous government is wanting. Five centuries ago, it would have suited England, but still more France, and all western Europe. It agrees so perfectly with all the accounts remaining of early Greece, and particularly those of Homer, whose testimony is unquestionable, and of Thucydides, the most authoritative of any following writer, that the poetical stories of the golden age and the reign of Saturn may be concluded to have been not originally Grecian, but derived from the East.³⁰ It remained for the idle learned, of refined and luxurious times, to imagine that the savage state is most favorable to general virtue among men. The idea began to get vigor in the Augustan age: Horace and Virgil found it advantageous for poetry: it was buried under the ruins of the Roman empire; and seems not to have flourished again till some time after the revival of learning in Europe, where, in our western parts, the turbulence of barbarism produced consequences remarkably similar to what had been anciently experienced in Greece.³¹ It is amid anarchy and desola-

³⁰ Hesiod's brazen age* so exactly corresponds with Plutarch's account of the age of Theseus that it seems evidently a description of the same times in the same country. But if the mythological passages with which it is connected should appear to any to lessen its authority, Homer will abundantly make good the deficiency: a passage in the 18th book of the Odyssey, v. 139., is particularly to the purpose.

³¹ The Gothic yet learned and elegant Muse of Spenser, preferring the real to the imaginary picture, has thus described the ancient state of our island:

* Op. & Di. I. 1. v. 142.

tion that great virtues, as well as great vices, have SECT.
 the strongest incentives to exertion, and the most III.
 frequent opportunities for becoming conspicuous. While governments were unable to repress outrages, individuals generously undertook the glorious task. Afterward societies were formed for the purpose. Thus arose the Italian republics, the free cities of Germany, and the corporations throughout Europe; and by the same necessity the several towns of Greece were driven to form themselves into independent states. Through the greatest part of modern Europe the feudal subordination had efficacy enough to keep the otherwise disjointed members of the several great kingdoms united under one head; till the progress

Robertson's
Introd. to
the Hist. of
Charles the
Fifth.

The land which warlike Britons now possess,
 And therein have their mighty empire raised,
 In antique times was salvage wilderness.

* * * * *

Ne did it then deserve a name to have;
 Till that the venturous mariner that way,
 Learning his ship from those white rocks to save,
 Which all along the southern seacoast lay,
 Threatening unheedy wreck and rash decay,
 For safety sake that same his seamark made,
 And named it Albion. But later day,
 Finding in it fit ports for fisher's trade,
 Gan more the same frequent, and farther to invade.

But far inland a salvage nation dwelt,
 Of hideous giants and half-beastly men,
 That never tasted grace, nor goodness felt;
 But, like wild beasts, lurking in loathsome den,
 And flying fast as roebuck through the fen,
 All naked, without shame or care of cold,
 By hunting and by spoiling lived then;
 Of stature huge, and eke of courage bold,

That sons of men amazed their sternness to behold.

* * * * *

They held this land.—
 Until that Brutus, anciently derived
 From royal stock of old Assarac's line,
 Driven by fatal error, here arrived,
 And them of their unjust possession deprived.

Faery Queen, b. 2. cant. 10. st. 5. to 9.

CHAP. I. of civilization and science enabled legislation to form of the whole one harmonized and vigorous body. In Greece such a bond of union failing, every town sought absolute independency as essential to freedom and equal government. In modern Italy also, which in some material circumstances of the feudal connexion differed from the rest of Europe, independency was ardently desired by the commonwealths; and they attained it. The age of Theseus was the great era of those heroes, to whom the knights errant of the Gothic kingdoms afterward bore a close resemblance. Hercules was his near kinsman. The actions of that extraordinary personage are reported to have been for some years the subject of universal conversation, and both an incentive and a direction to young Theseus in the road to fame. After having destroyed the most powerful and atrocious freebooters throughout Greece, Hercules, according to Plutarch, was gone into Asia; and those disturbers of civil order, whom his irresistible might and severe justice had driven to conceal themselves, took advantage of his absence to renew their violences. Being not obscure and vagabond thieves, but powerful chieftains, who openly defied law and government, the dangers to be expected from them were well known at Trœzen. Theseus however persevered in his resolution to go by land; alleging that it would be shameful, if, while Hercules was traversing earth and sea to repress the common disturbers of mankind, he should avoid those at his door, disgracing his reputed father by an ignominious flight over his own element, and carrying to his real father, for tokens, a bloodless weapon and sandals untrodden, instead of giving proofs of his high birth by actions worthy of it.

Thus determined he began his journey, with what

Plut. vit.
Thes.

Plut. vit.
Thes.
Thucyd.
l. 1. c. 5.

attendants we are uninformed. He had not however proceeded far before he had occasion to exercise his valor. Periphetes was a chief of the Epidaurian mountains, famous for his robberies. Attacking Theseus, he fell by his hand. The Corinthian isthmus was a spot particularly favorable to the purpose of freebooters. Simmis, who had his station there, also attacked Theseus and was slain. The neighbourhood of Crommyon on the isthmus was infested by a wild sow of enormous size and uncommon fierceness; or, as some have reported, by a female leader of robbers whose gross manners procured her the appellation of sow. The name Phæa, attributed by both, seems to favor the latter opinion. Whatever the pest was, Theseus has the credit of having delivered the country from it. Proceeding in his journey along the mountainous coast of the Saronic gulf, he still found every fastness occupied by men who, like many of the old barons of the western European kingdoms, gave protection to their dependents, and disturbance to all beside within their reach, making booty of whatever they could master. His valor however and his good fortune procuring him the advantage in every contest carried him safe through all dangers; though he found nothing friendly till he arrived on the bank of the river Cephisus in the middle of Attica. Some people of the country meeting him there saluted him in the usual terms of friendship to strangers. Judging himself then past the perils of his journey, he requested to have the accustomed ceremony of purification from blood performed, that he might properly join in sacrifices and other religious rites. The courteous Atticans readily complied, and then entertained him at their houses. An ancient altar, said to have been erected in commemoration of this meeting,

SECT.
III.Strabo,
1. 9. p. 391.

Diod.

Plutarch.
Thes.
Pausan.1. 1. c. 44.
1. 2. c. 1.

Pausan.
l. l. c. 37.
Plutarch.
Thes.

dedicated to Jupiter with the epithet of Meilichius, the friendly or kind, remained to the time of Pausanias.³²

When Theseus arrived at Athens Ægeus, already approaching dotage, was governed by the Colchian princess Medea, so famous in poetry, who flying from Corinth had prevailed on him to afford her protection. Theseus, as an illustrious stranger invited to a feast, on drawing his hunting-knife, as it seems was usual, to carve the meat before him, was recognized by Ægeus. The old king immediately rising embraced him, acknowledged him before the company for his son, and afterward summoning an assembly of the people presented Theseus as their prince. The fame of exploits suited, as those of Theseus, to acquire popularity in that age had already prepossessed the people in his favor; strong marks of general satisfaction followed. But the party of the sons of Pallas was powerful: their disappointment was equally great and unexpected; and no hope remaining to accomplish their wishes by other means, they withdrew from the city, collected their adherents, and returned in arms. The tide of popular inclination however now ran so strongly in favor of Theseus that some even of their confidants gave way to it. A design to surprise the city was discovered; part of their troops were in consequence cut off, the rest dispersed; and the faction was completely quelled.

Quiet being thus restored to Athens, Theseus was diligent to increase the popularity he had acquired. Military fame was the mean to which his active spirit chiefly inclined him; but, as the state had now no enemies, he exercised his valor in the destruction of

³² Pausanias travelled through Greece in the reign of M. Aurelius Antoninus, who succeeded to the Roman empire in the year after Christ 161.

wild beasts, and, it is said, added not a little to his reputation by delivering the country from a savage bull, which had done great mischief in the neighbourhood of Marathon. Report went, congenial to the superstition of the age, that this furious animal was the minister of vengeance of the god Neptune against the people of Attica. Theseus took him alive, and, after leading him in procession through the city, sacrificed him to Minerva.³³ Were these anecdotes no otherwise worthy of notice, they tend at least to characterize the times, and to mark the circumstances which gave that great estimation to bodily ability and personal courage. But there seems another view in which they are not wholly undeserving attention. In the present age, and particularly in our country, where happily wild beasts dangerous to man are strangers, stories of destructive bulls and boars are apt to be considered as ridiculous fables. But the testimony of Herodotus to their authenticity will be allowed powerful. Not long before the age in which himself lived, he says, the Mysians, then subjects of Crœsus king of Lydia, sent a formal deputation to their monarch, to request his assistance against a monstrous boar which made great ravages in their fields, and, in their several attempts to destroy him, had done them mischief, but received none. How far indeed boars were terrible animals, may be gathered from a passage in Hesiod's Shield of Hercules, where they are described fighting with lions, and nearly equal in the combat. Fire-arms give us in these times a superiority over the brute

³³ Diodorus says, to Apollo; and he is followed by Plutarch. It is of little consequence upon this occasion: but it may be observed that Pausanias is generally better authority than either; more accurate than Plutarch, and more judicious than Diodorus.

Isocrat.

Helen.

encom.

Diad.

1. 4. c. 61.

Plut. Thes.

Pausan.

1. 1. c. 27.

CHAP. I. creation which men in the early ages were far from possessing. So to this day, when a tiger shows himself about the villages of the unwarlike inhabitants of India, they apply to Europeans, if any are near, for assistance, as against an enemy which themselves are unable to cope with.

Plutarch.
Thes.
Plat. de
Leg. l. 4.
p. 706. t. 2.
ed. Serran.
Isocrat.
Helen.
encom.
Pausan.
l. 1. c. 27.

An opportunity however soon offered for Theseus to do his country more essential service, and to acquire more illustrious fame. The Athenians, in a war with Minos king of Crete, had been reduced to purchase peace of that powerful monarch by a yearly tribute of seven youths and as many virgins. Coined money was not common till some centuries after his age; and slaves and cattle were not only the principal riches, but the most commodious and usual standards by which the value of other things was determined. A tribute of slaves therefore was perhaps the most convenient that Minos could impose; Attica maintaining few cattle, and those being less easily transported. The burthen however could not but cause much uneasiness among the Athenians; so that the return of the Cretan ship at the usual time to demand the tribute excited fresh and loud murmurs against the government of Ægeus. Theseus took an extraordinary step, but perfectly suited to the heroic character which he affected, for appeasing the popular discontent. The tributary youths and virgins had been hitherto drawn by lot from the body of the people; who might however apparently send slaves, if they had or could procure them, instead of persons of their own family. But Theseus offered himself. Report went that those unfortunate victims were thrown into the famous labyrinth built by Dædalus, and there devoured by the Minotaur, a monster, half-man and half-bull. This fable was probably no

invention of the poets who embellished it in more SECT.
polished ages : it may have been devised at the time,

III.

and even have found credit among a people of an imagination so lively, and a judgment so uninformed, as were then the Athenians. The offer of Theseus therefore, really magnanimous, appeared an unparalleled effort of patriotic heroism. Ancient writers, who have endeavoured to investigate truth among the intricacies of fabulous tradition, tell us that the labyrinth was a fortress where prisoners were usually kept, and that a Cretan general, its governor, named Taurus, which in Greek signifies a bull, gave rise to the fiction of the Minotaur. The better testimony from antiquity however asserts that Theseus was received by Minos more agreeably to the character of a great and generous prince than of a tyrant who gave his captives to be devoured by monsters. But during this the flourishing age of Crete letters were, if at all known, little used in Greece. In aftertimes, when the Athenians bore the sway in literature, their tragedians, flattering vulgar prejudices, exhibited Minos in odious colors ; and through the popularity of their ingenious works their calumnious misrepresentations, as Plutarch has observed, overbore the eulogies of the elder poets, even of Hesiod and Homer. Thus the particulars of the adventures of Theseus in Crete, and of his return to Athens, have been so disguised, that even to guess at the truth is difficult. For these early ages Homer is our best guide ; but he has mixed mythology with his short notice of the adventure of Theseus in Crete. A rational interpretation nevertheless is obvious. Minos, surprised probably at the arrival of the Athenian prince among the tributary slaves, received him honorably, became partial to his merit, and after

Plutarch.
Thes.Plat.
Minos.Odyss.
1. 9. v. 320.

CHAP. I. some experience of it gave him his daughter Ariadne in marriage. In the voyage toward Athens the princess being taken with sudden sickness was landed in the island of Naxos, where Bacchus was esteemed the tutelary deity; and she died there. If we add the supposition that Theseus, eager to communicate the news of his extraordinary success, or urged by public duty, proceeded on his voyage while the princess was yet living, no farther foundation would be wanting for the fables which have made these names so familiar. Theseus however, according to what with most certainty may be gathered from Athenian tradition, freed his country from farther payment of the ignominious and cruel tribute.

This achievement, by whatsoever means effected, was so bold in the undertaking, so complete in the success, so important and so interesting in the consequences, that it deservedly raised Theseus to the highest popularity among the Athenians. Sacrifices and processions were instituted in honor of it, and were continued while the Pagan religion had existence in Athens. The vessel in which he made his voyage was yearly sent in solemn pomp to the sacred island of Delos, where rites of thanksgiving were performed to Apollo. Through the extreme veneration in which it was held, it was so anxiously preserved that in Plato's time it was said to be still the same vessel; though at length its frequent repairs gave occasion to the dispute, which became famous among the sophists, whether it was or was not still the same. On his father's death the common voice supported his claim to the succession, and he showed himself not less capable of improving the state by his wisdom than of defending it by his valor. The twelve districts into which Cecrops had divided Attica were become

Plat. Phædon. p. 58.
t. 1. ed.
Serran.

Thucyd.
1. 2. c. 15.

so many nearly independent commonwealths, with scarcely any bond of union but their acknowledgment of one chief, whose authority was not always sufficient to keep them from mutual hostilities. The inconveniences of such a constitution were great and obvious, but the remedy full of difficulty. Theseus however undertook it; and effected that change which laid the foundation of the following glory of Athens, while it ranks him among the most illustrious patriots that adorn the annals of mankind. Going through every district, with that judicial authority which in the early state of all monarchal governments has been attached to the kingly office, and with those powers of persuasion which he is said largely to have possessed, he put an end to civil contest. He proposed then the abolition of all the independent magistracies, councils, and courts of justice, and the substitution of one common council of legislation, and one common system of judicature. The lower people readily acceded to his measures. The rich and powerful, who shared among them the independent magistracies, were more inclined to opposition. To satisfy these therefore, he offered, with a disinterestedness of which history affords few examples, to give up much of his own power; and, appropriating to himself only the cares and dangers of royalty, to share with his people authority, honor, wealth, all that is commonly most valued in it. Few were inclined to resist so equitable and generous a proposal: the most selfish and most obstinate dared not. Theseus therefore proceeded quietly to new-model the commonwealth.³⁴

³⁴ 'Theseus eos demigrare ex agris, et in astu, quod appellatur, omnes se conferre jussit.' Cic. de Leg. l. 2. c. 2. Payne Knight

Strabo,
l. 9. p. 397.
Plutarch.
Thes.

Thucyd.
l. 2. c. 15.
Xenoph. de
Venat. c. 1.
Isocrat.
Helen. en-
com.
Plutarch.
Thes.

Isocr. He-
len. encom.
Plutarch.
Thes.

Thucyd.
I. 2. c. 15.
Plutarch.
Thes.
B. C.
968. N.
1234. B.

Odysseus.
I. 3. v. 48.

Thucyd.
I. 2. c. 15.
Plutarch.
Thes.

The dissolution of all the independent councils and jurisdictions in the several towns and districts, and the removal of all the more important civil business to Athens, was his first measure. There he built a council-hall and courts of justice, in the place (says Plutarch, who wrote about the middle of the second century of the Christian era) where they now stand. This was the improvement of most obvious advantage: his next measure has at least the appearance of a deeper policy. Having observed that sense of weakness, natural to all mankind, which induces them to look up to some superior being, known or unknown, for protection; having remarked the effects on the minds of his fellow-countrymen of the various opinions held among them upon this universally interesting subject; having probably adverted particularly to their superstitious attachment to the imaginary deities esteemed peculiarly tutelar of the respective towns; he wisely judged that the civil union, so happily effected, would be incomplete, or at least unstable, if he did not cement it by union in religion. He avoided however to shock rooted prejudices by any abolition of established religious ceremonies. Leaving those peculiar to each district as they stood, he instituted, or improved and laid open for all in common, one feast and sacrifice, in honor of the goddess Athena, or Minerva, for all inhabitants of Attica. This feast he called Panathenæa, the feast of all the Athenians or people of Minerva; and thenceforward apparently all the inhabitants of Attica,

has supposed Theseus a merely fabulous personage, because he is not mentioned in any passage of Homer's poems, excepting one which he has reckoned not genuine. It seems bold to oppose such negative testimony to the positive of Thucydides and Cicero.

esteeming themselves unitedly under the particular protection of that goddess, uniformly distinguished themselves by a name formed from hers; for they were before variously called, from their race, Ionians; from their country, Atticans; or from their princes, Cranaans, Cecropians, or Erechthidæ.³⁵ To this scheme of union, conceived with a depth of judgment, and executed with a moderation of temper, rarely found in that age, the Athenians may well be said to Xenoph. de Venat. c. 1.

Otherwise Attica, like Bœotia and other provinces, whose circumstances will come hereafter under notice, would probably have contained several little republics, united only in name; each too weak to preserve dignity, or even to secure independency to its separate government; and possessing nothing so much in common as occasions for perpetual disagreement.

Plutarch attributes to Theseus the honor of having been the first prince ever known to have resigned

³⁵ Herodotus reports, that the original inhabitants of Attica were of the Pelasgian horde, and distinguished by the name of Cranaans;* that when Cecrops became prince of the country his subjects were called from his name Cecropians; and that under the reign of Erechtheus the name of Athenians first obtained. But it has been generally held by later writers, that Cranaus succeeded Cecrops in the throne of Attica; and that from him the people must have had the name of Cranaans, as they afterwards sometimes bore that of Erechthidæ from Erechtheus. Hence some modern learned have supposed a fault in the copies of Herodotus, and proposed ingenious amendments. † Perhaps however we might better leave the copies of Herodotus as we find them, and pay a little more attention to an expression of Strabo, where, treating of the early history of Attica, he says, Οἳτε δὴ τὴν Ἀτθίδα συγγράψαντες πολλὰ διαφωνοῦντες. Strab. l. 9. p. 392.

* Herodot. l. 8. c. 44.

† See Gaisford's Herodotus, b. 8. c. 44. notes.

CHAP. I. absolute power with the noble purpose to establish a free government. All early tradition however, and even the narration of Plutarch himself, shows that the Attic monarchs, whatever they might arrogate, were far from possessing absolute power ; and from the more accurate Strabo it appears, as indeed from every account of the Cretan constitution, that Minos has the fairer claim to the preeminence in patriotic glory.

Strabo,
I. 10. p. 480. It is emphatically said by Strabo that the Cretan lawgiver seems to have proposed the liberty of the subject as the great object of his institutions ; and much of the noble liberality of Theseus's system has probably been derived from Crete. It may have been on better foundation asserted by Plutarch, that Theseus was the first Grecian who established a distinction of ranks ; though even this is contradicted

Strabo,
I. 8. p. 383. by Strabo, who says that Ion, son of Xuthus, had before divided the people of Attica nearly in the manner ascribed by Plutarch to Theseus. The age and actions of Ion however are of very uncertain historical evidence ; and, except in Egypt, we are little assured of the existence of any such political arrangement before Theseus. Under him something of the kind became the more necessary, according to

Plutarch.
Thes.
Thucyd.
I. 1. c. 2. Plutarch, from the number of strangers who in consequence of public encouragement resorted to Athens, and conformably to ancient custom were admitted to the rights of citizens. The whole commonwealth was divided into three classes ; nobility, husbandmen, and artificers. The executive and judicial powers, with the superintendency of religion, were appropriated to the former. A share in the legislature, extended to all, ensured civil freedom to all ; and no distinction prevailed, as in other Grecian provinces, between the people of the capital and

those of the inferior towns; but all were united under the Athenian name in the enjoyment of every privilege of Athenian citizens. When his improvements were completed, Theseus, according to the policy which became usual for giving authority to great innovations and all uncommon undertakings, is said to have procured a declaration of divine approbation from the prophetical shrine of Delphi.

Plutarch.
Thes.

Thus the province of Attica, containing a triangular tract of land with two sides about fifty miles long, and the third forty,³⁶ was moulded into a well-united and well-regulated commonwealth, whose chief magistrate was yet hereditary, and retained the title of king. In consequence of so improved a state of things, the Athenians began the first of all the Greeks to acquire more civilized manners. Thucydides re-

Thucyd.
l. 1. c. 6.

marks, that they were the first who dropped the practice, formerly general among the Greeks, of going constantly armed; and who introduced a civil dress in contradistinction to the military. This particularity, if not introduced by Theseus, appears to have been not less early, since it struck Homer, who marks the Athenians by the appellation of long-robed Ionians.³⁷ If we may credit Plutarch, Theseus coined money; which was certainly rare in Greece two centuries after.

³⁶ Barthelemy makes Attica less; but Stuart's survey, in the third volume of his *Antiquities of Athens*, gives nearly the measures in the text.

³⁷ Ιάονες ἐλκεχίτωνες. Iliad. l. 13. v. 685. It appears extraordinary that the commentators on Homer, and particularly that Wood, should have been at any loss to apply this name IAONES; for the scholiast says that the Athenians are meant by it: he is supported by Strabo, b. 9. p. 392. and if there could be any doubt of their authority, it would be removed by the use which Æschylus has made of exactly the same name, calling Attica Ιάονων γῆν. Pers. p. 133. ed. H. Steph.

CHAP.
I.

The rest of the history of Theseus affords little worthy of notice. It is composed of a number of the wildest adventures, many of them consistent enough with the character of the times, but very little so with what is related of the former part of his life. It seems indeed as if historians had inverted the order of things; giving to his riper years the extravagance of youth, after having attributed to his earliest manhood what the maturest age seldom has equalled. Whether this should be attributed altogether, or in any part, to the fancy which afterward prevailed among philosophical writers to mix mythology with history, will be rather for the dissertator than the historian to inquire. Theseus however, it may be proper to observe, is said to have lost in the end all favor and all authority among the Athenians; and, though his institutions remained in vigor, to have died in exile. After him Menestheus, a person of

Homer. Il. l. 2. v. 552.

the royal family, acquired the sovereignty, and commanded the Athenian troops in the Trojan war.

SECTION IV.

Early people of Asia Minor and Thrace. Origin and progress of the Trojan state. Licentious manners of the early ages. Early hostilities between Greece and Asia. Expedition of Paris: Rape of Helen: League of the Grecian princes: Sacrifice of Iphigenia: Difficulties of the Greeks in the Trojan war: Troy taken: Return of the Greeks: Consequences of their absence: Assassination of Agamemnon. Credit due to Homer's historical evidence. Resemblance of the Trojan war to circumstances in modern history.

It appears, from a strong concurrence of circumstances recorded by ancient writers, that the early inhabitants of Asia Minor, Thrace, and Greece were the same people. The Leleges, Caucones, and Pellasgians, enumerated by Homer among the Asiatic

nations, are mentioned by Strabo as the principal names among those, whom nevertheless he calls Barbarians, who in earliest times occupied Greece. Homer speaks of the Thracian Thamyris contending in song with the Muses in Peloponnesus. But the Muses themselves, according to Hesiod, were of Pieria, esteemed a Thracian province till it became incorporated with the Macedonian kingdom; and the whole Thracian people were by some ancient writers included within the Ionian name, the general name with all the orientals for the Greek nation. Again, Herodotus asserts that the ancient hymns sung at the festival of Apollo at Delos were composed by Olen, a Lycian: and according to Pausanias, the hymns of Olen the Lycian were the oldest known to the Greeks, and Olen the Hyperborean, who seems to have been the same person, was the inventor of the Grecian hexameter verse. It seems a necessary inference that the language both of Thrace and of Lycia was Greek. The hymns of Thamyris and Orpheus were admired for singular sweetness even in Plato's time; and the Thracian Thamyris or Thamyras, Orpheus, Musæus, and Eumolpus, with the Lycian Olen, were the acknowledged fathers of Grecian poetry, the acknowledged reformers of Grecian manners, those who, according to Grecian accounts, began that polish in morals, manners, and language which in after-ages characterized the Greek, and distinguished him from the barbarian.³⁸ Olympus, the father of Grecian music, whose compositions, which Plato has called divine, retained the highest reputation even in Plutarch's time, was a Phrygian.³⁹ In the Grecian my-

I. 7. p. 321.
Iliad. I. 2.
v. 595. &
Strabo,
I. 8. p. 350.
Hes. Op. &
Di. v. 1.

Hesych.
v. θάυμα.
Herodot.
I. 4. c. 35.

Pausan.
I. 1. c. 18.
I. 5. c. 7.
I. 9. c. 27. &
I. 10. c. 5.

Plat. de
Leg.
I. 8. p. 829.
t. 2. ed.
Serran.

³⁸ Ὀρφεὺς μὲν γὰρ τελετάς θ' ἡμῖν κατέδειξε, φόνων τ' ἀπέχεσθαι.

Aristoph. Ran. v. 1032.

³⁹ Μαρσύας καὶ Ὄλυμπος ὁ Φρύξ. Τούτων δὴ καὶ τὰ αὐλήματα θειότατά ἔσι, καὶ μόνα κινεῖ,—καὶ ἔτι καὶ νῦν μόνα λοιπά

CHAP. I. theology we find continual references to Asiatic and Thracian stories; and even in the heroic ages, which followed the mystic, the Greeks and Asiatics appear to have communicated as kindred people. Pelops, a fugitive Asiatic prince, acquired a kingdom by marriage in Peloponnesus; and Bellerophon, a prince of Corinth, in the same manner acquired the kingdom of Lycia in Asia. Herodotus remarks that the Lydian laws and manners even in his time very nearly resembled the Grecian; and the Lycians and Pamphylians were so evidently of the same race with the Greeks that he supposed them the descendants of emigrants from Crete, from Athens, and other parts of Greece. The inhabitants of Thrace are not distinguished by Homer for that peculiar barbarism which afterward characterized them: apparently they were upon a level nearly in civilization with the other people around the Ægean. But while Greece, protected by barrier mountains and almost surrounding seas, had neither disturbance nor alarm but from the petty contentions of its own people, Thrace bordering on a vast extent of continent, the prolific nourisher of the fiercest savages known in history, had other difficulties to combat. Probably among those general movements of nations, those many migrations and expulsions which, according to Strabo, followed the Trojan times, the hordes of the northern wilds, pouring down in irresistible numbers from the snowy heights of Hæmus and Rhodope, overwhelmed the civilized people of the coast; destroying many, driving some to seek securer settlements elsewhere, and reducing the rest by degrees to their own barbarism.

ASIA MINOR, more open to invasion than Greece,

ἔσιν ως θεῖα ὄντα. Plat. Min. p. 318. t. 2. "Ολυμπος ὁ Μαρσύον
μαθητῆς — ἀρχηγὸς τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς καὶ καλῆς μουσικῆς. Plutarch.
de Music.

Iliad.

1. 6. v. 152.

Herodot.

1. 1. c. 35.

& 73. & 94.

& 1. 7. c. 91.

& 92.

Strabo,

1. 14. p. 668.

Pausan.

1. 7. c. 3.

Strabo,

1. 12.

p. 572.

was yet far more fortunately situated than Thrace; being defended on three sides by seas, and on the fourth communicating by land with those countries whence all civilization came. But the western coast of Asia Minor is described as one of the most delicious countries in the world, eminent for fruitfulness of soil, and excelling Greece in softness of climate. The ^{Pausan.}
_{I. 7. c. 5.} governments formed there, in the earliest times, mostly commanded a greater extent of territory than those of Greece; an advantage which they seem to have owed, not entirely to a higher degree of civilization in the people, but much to the extent of the Asiatic plains, less divided by lofty mountains and deep gulfs into small portions with difficulty accessible from each other. But without a polity very superior to what was then common, a country so happy by nature could not escape those miseries which the passions or the necessities of mankind were continually occasioning. The coast was nearly deserted: people civilized enough to cultivate the arts of peace withdrew from the ravages of piracy to inland tracts, less fertile and less favored by climate, but where, through the security enjoyed, some considerable sovereignties appear to have arisen at a very remote period.

The first powerful settlement upon the coast, of which information remains, was that of Troy; and the sketch which Homer has given of the rise of that state, slight as it is and mingled with fable, is yet perhaps the clearest as well as the most genuine picture existing, of the progress of population and political society in their approach to Europe.⁴⁰ The

⁴⁰ Plato's third dialogue on legislation, p. 681. vol. 2. appears to mark this as his opinion.

CHAP.
I.Iliad.
l. 20. v. 215.

origin of Dardanus founder of the Trojan state has been very variously related; but the testimony of Homer to the utter uncertainty of his birth and native country, delivered in the terms that he was the son of Jupiter, may seem best entitled to belief.⁴¹ Thus however it appears that the Greeks not unwillingly acknowledged consanguinity with the Trojans; for many, indeed most, of the Grecian heroes also claimed their descent from Jupiter. It is moreover remarkable that, among the many genealogies which Homer has transmitted, none is traced so far into antiquity as that of the royal family of Troy. Dardanus was ancestor in the sixth degree to Hector, and may thus have lived from a hundred and fifty to two hundred years before that hero. On one of the many ridges projecting from the foot of the lofty mountain of Ida, in the north-western part of Asia Minor, he founded a town, or perhaps rather a castle, which from his own name was called Dardania. The situation commanded a narrow but highly fruitful plain, watered by the streams of Simois and Scamander, and stretching from the roots of Ida to the Hellespont northward, and the Ægean sea westward. His son Erichthonius, who succeeded him in the sovereignty of this territory, had the reputation of being the richest man of his age. Much of his wealth seems to have been derived from a large stock of brood mares, to the number, according to the poet, of three thousand, which the fertility of his soil enabled him

⁴¹ Homer seems to have known nothing of Teucer, who is said by Diodorus and other later writers to have been the founder of the Trojan state; in the sovereignty of which, according to them, he was succeeded by Dardanus, who married his daughter. Virgil has chosen to abide by Homer's account. Aen. l. 6. v. 650. & l. 8. v. 134.

Iliad.
l. 22. v. 216.Strab. l. 13.
p. 583. 584.

to maintain, and which by his care and judgment in the choice of stallions produced a breed of horses superior to any of the surrounding countries. Tros son of Erichthonius probably extended, or in some other way improved, the territory of Dardania; since the appellation by which it was known to posterity was derived from his name. With the riches the population of the state of course increased. Ilus son of Tros therefore, venturing to move his residence from the mountain, founded, on a rising ground beneath, that celebrated city called from his name Ilion, but more familiarly known in modern languages by the name of Troy, derived from his father. The temptation however to attack was augmented, in full proportion with the means to defend. Twice, before that war which Homer has made so famous, Troy is said to have been taken and plundered: and for its second capture by Hercules, in the reign of Laomedon son of Ilus, we have Homer's authority. The government however revived, and still advanced in power and splendor. Laomedon after his misfortune fortified the city in a manner so superior to what was common in his age that the walls of Troy were said to be a work of the gods. Under his son Priam the Trojan state was very flourishing and of considerable extent; containing, under the name of Phrygia, the country afterward called Troas, together with both shores of the Hellespont and the large and fertile island of Lesbos.⁴²

SECT.
IV.

*Plat. de Leg.
1. 3. p. 682.
Strabo,
1. 13. p. 593.*

*Iliad. 1. 5.
v. 640. &
Pindar.
Olymp. 8.*

*Iliad.
l. 24. v. 544.
Strab. l. 13.*

⁴² Strabo* distinguishes the Trojan country by the name of Hellespontine Phrygia. It was divided by Mysia from the large inland tract afterward called Phrygia, whose people are mentioned in Homer's catalogue as allies of the Trojans coming from afar. †

CHAP.
I.

A frequent communication, sometimes friendly, but oftener hostile, was maintained between the eastern and western coasts of the Ægean sea; each being an object of piracy more than of commerce to the inhabitants of the opposite country. Cattle and slaves constituting the principal riches of the times, men, women, and children, together with swine, sheep, goats, oxen, and horses, were principal objects of plunder. But scarcely was any crime more common than rapes: and it seems to have been a kind of fashion, in consequence of which the leaders of piratical expeditions gratified their vanity in the highest degree when they could carry off a lady of superior rank. How usual these outrages were among the Greeks, may be gathered from the condition said to have been exacted by Tyndareus king of Sparta, father of the celebrated Helen, from the chieftains who came to ask his daughter in marriage: he required of all, as a preliminary, to bind themselves by solemn oaths that, should she be stolen, they would assist with their utmost power to recover her. This tradition, with many other stories of Grecian rapes, on whatsoever founded, indicates with certainty the opinion of the later Greeks, among whom they were popular, concerning the manners of their ancestors.⁴³ But it does not follow that the Greeks were more vicious than other people equally unhabituated to constant, vigorous, and well-regulated exertions of law and government. Equal licentiousness but a few centuries ago prevailed throughout western Europe. Hence those gloomy habitations of the ancient nobility, which excite the wonder of the traveller, par-

Robertson's
History of
Charles V.

⁴³ The story of the oath required by Tyndareus is mentioned by Thucydides (l. 1. c. 9.) in a manner indicating it to have been both ancient and generally received.

ticularly in the southern parts; where, in the midst of the finest countries, he often finds them in situations so very inconvenient and uncomfortable, except for what was then the one great object, security, that now the houseless peasant will scarcely go to them for shelter.⁴⁴ From the licentiousness were derived the manners, and even the virtues of the times; and hence knight-errantry with its whimsical consequences.

The expedition of Paris, son of Priam king of Troy, into Greece, appears to have been a marauding adventure, such as was then usual. It is said indeed Iliad. l. 3. v. 354. that he was received very hospitably, and entertained very kindly, by Menelaus king of Sparta. But this also was consonant to the spirit of the times; for hospitality has always been the virtue of barbarous ages: it is at this day no less characteristical of the wild Arabs than their spirit of robbery; and in the Scottish Highlands we know robbery and hospitality flourished together till very lately. Hospitality indeed will be generally found in different ages and countries very nearly in proportion to the need of it; that is, in proportion to the deficiency of jurisprudence, and the weakness of government. Paris concluded his visit at Sparta with carrying off Helen, wife of Menelaus, together with a considerable treasure: and whether this was effected by fraud, or as some have supposed, by open violence, it is probable enough that, as Herodotus relates, it was first concerted, and afterward supported, in revenge for some similar injury done by the Greeks to the Trojans.

An outrage however so grossly injurious to one of the greatest princes of Greece, especially if attended

⁴⁴ So it was in the south of France; at least before the revolution, when this volume was written.

CHAP. I. with a breach of the rights of hospitality, might not unreasonably be urged as a cause requiring the united revenge of all the Grecian chieftains. But there were other motives to engage them in the quarrel. The hope of returning laden with the spoil of the richer provinces of Asia was a strong incentive to leaders poor at home, and bred to rapine. The authority and influence of Agamemnon, king of Argos, brother of Menelaus, were also weighty. The spirit of the age, his own temper, the extent of his power, the natural desire of exerting it on a splendid occasion, would all incite this prince eagerly to adopt his brother's quarrel. He is besides represented by character qualified to create and command a powerful league; ambitious, active, brave, generous, humane; vain indeed and haughty, sometimes to his own injury; yet commonly repressing those hurtful qualities, and watchful to cultivate popularity. Under this leader all the Grecian chieftains from the end of Peloponnesus to the end of Thessaly, together with Idomeneus from Crete, and other commanders from some of the smaller islands, assembled at Aulis a seaport of Boeotia. The Acarnanians alone, separated from the rest of Greece by lofty mountains and a sea at that time little navigated, had no share in the expedition. A story acquired celebrity in aftertimes that, the fleet being long detained at Aulis by contrary winds, Agamemnon sacrificed his daughter Iphigenia as a propitiatory offering to obtain from the gods a safe and speedy passage to the Trojan coast. To the credit of his character however it is added that he submitted to this abominable cruelty with extreme reluctance, compelled by the clamors of the army, who were persuaded that the gods required the victim; nor were there wanting those who asserted

Thucyd.
I. 1. c. 9.

Isocrat.
Panathen.
p. 472.
ed. Paris.
Auger.
Hom. II.
passim.

B. C.
914. N.
1193. B.
Hesiod.
Op. & Di.
I. 2. v. 269.

Pausan.
I. 9. c. 19.

that by a humane fraud the princess was at last saved, SECT.
IV.
 under favor of a report that a fawn was miraculously sent by the goddess Diana, to be sacrificed in her stead. Indeed the story, though of such fame, and so warranted by early authorities, that some notice of it seemed requisite, wants, it must be confessed, wholly the best authentication for matters of that very early age; for neither Homer, though he enumerates Agamemnon's daughters, nor Hesiod, who not only mentions the assembling of the Grecian forces under his command at Aulis, but specifies their detentions by bad weather, has left one word about so remarkable an event as this sacrifice.

The fleet at length had a prosperous voyage. It consisted of about twelve hundred open vessels, each carrying from fifty to a hundred and twenty men. The number of men in the whole armament, computed from the mean of those two numbers mentioned by Homer as the complement of different ships, would be something more than a hundred thousand; and Thucydides, whose opinion is of the highest authority, has reckoned this within the bounds of probability; though a poet, he adds, would go to the utmost of current reports. The army, landing on the Trojan coast, was immediately so superior to the enemy as to oblige them to seek shelter within the city-walls: but here the operations were at a stand. The hazards to which unfortified and solitary dwellings were exposed from pirates and freebooters had driven the more peaceable of mankind to assemble in towns for mutual security. To erect lofty walls around those towns for defence was then an obvious resource, requiring little more than labor for the execution. More thought, more art, more experience were necessary for forcing the rudest fortification, if defended with

Pindar.
Pyth. 2.
Æschyl.
Agamem.
p. 220. ed.
H. Steph.

Iliad. 1. 9.
v. 145.

Thucyd.
l. 1. c. 10.

CHAP. I. vigilance and courage. But the Trojan walls were singularly strong: Agamemnon's army could make no impression upon them. He was therefore reduced to the method most common for ages after, of turning the siege into a blockade, and patiently waiting till want of necessaries should force the enemy to quit their shelter. But neither did the policy of the times amount by many degrees to the art of subsisting so numerous an army for any length of time, nor would the revenues of Greece have been equal to it with more knowledge, nor indeed would the state of things have admitted it, scarcely with any wealth, or by any means. For in countries without commerce, the people providing for their own wants only, supplies cannot be found equal to the maintenance of a super-added army. No sooner therefore did the Trojans shut themselves within their walls than the Greeks were obliged to give their principal attention to the means of subsisting their numerous forces. The

Thucyd.
I. I. c. 11.

common method of the times was to ravage the adjacent countries; and this was immediately put in practice. But such a resource soon destroys itself. To have therefore a more permanent and certain supply, a part of their army was sent to cultivate the vales of the Thracian Chersonese, then abandoned by their inhabitants on account of the frequent and destructive incursions of the wild people who occupied the interior of that continent.

Large bodies being thus detached from the army, the remainder scarcely sufficed to deter the Trojans from taking the field again, and could not prevent succour and supplies from being carried into the town. Thus the siege was protracted to the enormous length of ten years. It was probably their success in marauding marches and pirating voyages that in-

Homer. &
Plat. de
Leg. I. 3.

l. 1. v. 366.
l. 9. v. 329.
& l. 20.
v. 91. &
188. Odyss.
l. 3. v. 106.
Thucyd.
I. I. c. 11.

persevere so long. Achilles is p. 682.
Iliad. 1. 9.
d no less than twelve maritime v. 329.
owns. Lesbos, then under the
monarch of Troy, was among his Iliad. 1. 8.
v. 129.
women of that island were appor- Odyss. 1. 3.
tious army as a part of the booty. v. 106.
stances alarming all neighbouring
to procure numerous and power-
rojans. Not only the Asiatic states,
eastward and southward, sent auxi-

lary troops, but also the European, westward, as far Iliad. 1. 2
as the Pæonians of that country about the river Axios, v. 844. &
which afterward became Macedonia. At length, in seq. & Strabo, 1. 7.
p. 330.
the tenth year of the war, after great exertions of valor and the slaughter of numbers on both sides, B. C.
among whom were many of the highest rank, Troy 904. New-
yielded to its fate. Yet was it not then overcome by ton. 1184.
Usher.
open force: stratagem is reported by Homer; fraud Odyss. 1. 8.
and treachery have been supposed by later writers. v. 492.
It was however taken and plundered: the venerable
monarch was slain: the queen and her daughters,
together with one only son remaining of a very
numerous male progeny, were led into captivity.
According to some, the city was totally destroyed, Wood on
and the survivors of the people so dispersed that Homer.
their very name was from that time lost. But the
tradition supported by better authority, and in no Strabo,
small degree by that of Homer himself, whose words l. 13. p. 608.
upon the occasion seem indeed scarcely doubtful, is, & 1. 15.
that Æneas and his posterity reigned over the Trojan p. 873.
country and people for some generations; the seat of Iliad. 1. 20.
government however being removed from Troy to v. 302.
Scepsis: and Xenophon has marked his respect for Xenoph. de
this tradition, ascribing the final ruin of the Trojan Venat. c. 1.
state and name to that following inundation of Greeks,

CHAP. which will occur for notice, called the Æolic emigration.
 I.

Nothing apparently so much as the poetical elegance of ingenuity, everywhere intermixed with early Grecian history, has driven some to slight it as merely fabulous, who have been disposed to respect the early history of Rome; giving a credit to the solemn adulation of the grave historians of Italy to their own country, which they deny to the fanciful indeed and inaccurate, but surely honest and unflattering accounts remaining of elder Greece. Agamemnon, we are told, triumphed over Troy: and the historical evidence to the fact is large. But the Grecian poets themselves universally acknowledge that it was a dear-bought, a mournful triumph. Few of the princes, who survived to partake of it, had any enjoyment of their hard-earned glory in their native country. None expecting that the war would detain them so long from home, none had made due provision for the regular administration of their affairs during such an absence. It is indeed probable that the utmost wisdom and forethought would have been unequal to the purpose. For, in the half-formed governments of those days, the constant presence of the prince as supreme regulator was necessary toward keeping the whole from running presently into utter confusion. Seditions and revolutions accordingly remain recorded, almost as numerous as the cities of Greece. Many of the princes on their return were compelled to embark again with their adherents, to seek settlements in distant countries. A more tragical fate

Odyss. 1. 1. awaited Agamemnon. His queen Clytemnestra, having v. 36. & al. given her affection to his kinsman Ægisthus, concurred in a plot against her husband, and the unfortunate monarch on his return to Argos was assassinated;
 Plat. Theag. p. 124. t. 1.

those of his friends who escaped the massacre were compelled to fly with his son Orestes; and, so strong was the party which their long possession of the government had enabled the conspirators to form, the usurper obtained complete possession of the throne. Orestes found refuge at Athens; where alone among the Grecian states there seems to have been then a constitution capable of bearing both the absence and the return of the army and its commander without any essential derangement.

Such were the Trojan war and its consequences, according to the best of the unconnected and defective accounts remaining, among which those of Homer have always held the first rank. But in modern times the authority of the great poet as an historian has been more questioned. It is of highest importance to the history of the early ages that it should have its due weight; and it may therefore be proper to mention here some of the circumstances which principally establish its authority; others will occur hereafter. It should be observed then that in Homer's age poets were the only historians; whence though it does not at all follow that poets would so adhere to certain truth as not to introduce ornament, yet it necessarily follows that veracity in historical narration would make a large share of a poet's merit in public opinion; a circumstance which the common use of written records and prose histories instantly and totally altered. The probability, and the very remarkable consistency of Homer's historical anecdotes, variously dispersed as they are among his poetical details and embellishments, form a second and powerful testimony. Indeed the connexion and the clearness of Grecian history, through the very early times of which Homer has treated, appear very

SECT.
IV.

CHAP. I. extraordinary when compared with the darkness and uncertainty that begin in the instant of our losing his guidance, and continue through ages. In confirmation of this presumptive evidence we have very complete positive proof to the only point admitting it, his geography; which has wonderfully stood the most scrupulous inquiries from those who were every way qualified to make them. From all these, with perhaps other considerations, followed the credit given to Homer's history by the most judicious prose-writers of antiquity; among the early particularly by Thucydides, and among the later by Strabo.

But the very fame of the principal persons and events celebrated by Homer seems to have led some to question their reality. Perhaps it may not be an improper digression here to bring to the reader's recollection a passage in the history of the British islands, bearing so close an analogy to some of the most remarkable circumstances in Homer's history as to afford no inconsiderable collateral support to that poet's authority as a faithful relater of facts and painter of manners. Exploits like that of Paris were in the twelfth century not uncommon in Ireland. In a lower line they have been frequent there still in our days; but in that age popular opinion was so favorable to them that even princes, like Jason and Paris, gloried in such proofs of their gallantry and spirit. Dermot king of Leinster accordingly formed a design on Dervorghal, a celebrated beauty, wife of O'Ruark king of Leitrim; and between force and fraud he succeeded in carrying her off. O'Ruark, resenting the affront as might be expected, procured a confederacy of neighbouring chieftains, with the king of Connaught the most powerful prince of Ireland at their head. Leinster was invaded, the

princess was recovered, and, after hostilities continued with various success during many years, Dermot was expelled from his kingdom. Thus far the resemblance holds with much exactness. The sequel differs: for the rape of Dervorghal, beyond comparison inferior in celebrity, had yet consequences far more important than the rape of Helen. The fugitive Dermot, deprived of other hope, applied to the powerful monarch of the neighbouring island, Henry the second; and, in return for assistance to restore him to his dominion, offered to hold it in vassalage of the crown of England. The English conquest of Ireland followed.⁴⁵

On the whole, the disposition of some grave writers of late to assert the notion of one whimsical ancient, that Troy never existed, and that the whole of Homer's history is invention, is to my mind utterly unreasonable. The difficulty which diligent and able travellers have found to ascertain the exact situation of ancient Troy is the point on which those writers chiefly rely: but it will have weight in the argument only with closet-scholars. How little grounds there are to expect that any thing should remain to ascertain the site, may be discovered from observation of the site of other ruined towns; for instance, Paestum in Italy, destroyed in a comparatively modern age. Massive columns of temples there remaining are testimonies which can hardly fail to be lasting. But such temples do not appear

⁴⁵ Hume, in his History of England, has written the name of the heroine of this story, OMACH. Leland's History of Ireland is here followed, with which Hume's more abridged account in all material circumstances sufficiently tallies. Lord Lyttelton, in his History of Henry the second, has related the facts and written the names nearly as Leland.

CHAP. I. to have existed either in Lesser Asia or in Greece, as far as Homer's poems show, even in his age. The walls of Troy and the palace are said to have been of stone. But these affording materials ready wrought would be removed for use. Little of the walls of Pæstum remain; and but for the barbarian state of that fair kingdom, and the yet existing desolation of the rich territory round Pæstum, none would have remained. The columns have been left, because their materials are of no convenient form for other buildings. Castles in our own country have been annihilated for the sake of the materials ready for use in other edifices: and so, of many monasteries, the columns of the church remain, and all beside has been carried off.

CHAPTER II.

Of the religion, government, jurisprudence, science, arts, commerce, and manners of the early Greeks.

SECTION I.

Of the progress of things from the East into Greece, and of the religion of the early Greeks.

LESS satisfactory than might be desired as the historical information remaining from Homer may be, we have yet from his masterly hand a finished picture of the manners and principles of his age, domestic as well as political: which, sublime and magnificent as it is in the general outline and composition, descends at the same time to so many minute particulars as to leave our curiosity scarcely in anything ungratified. It belongs not to history to detail every circumstance of this entertaining and instructive tablet, which yet abounds with matter not to be left unnoticed.

SECT.
I.

But, in considering the first ages of Greece, the view is continually led toward those earliest seats of empire and of science usually called collectively the East. And there so vast and so interesting a field of inquiry presents itself, yet, like forms in distant landscape, so confused by aerial tints and by length and intricacy of perspective, that it is not easy to determine where and how far investigation ought to be attempted, and when precisely the voice of caution should be obeyed rather than that of curiosity. Certainly to bewilder himself will not generally be allowed to the historian as a venial error. Sometimes

CHAP. II. however, and without far wandering from well-trodden paths, he may venture to search for some illustration of his subject in that utmost verge of history's horizon.

In all countries, and through all ages, RELIGION and Civil Government have been so connected that no history can be given of either without reference to the other. But in the accounts remaining of the earliest times the attention everywhere paid to religion, the deep interest taken in it by individuals and by communities, by people polished equally and unpolished, is peculiarly striking. A sense of dependency on some superior Being seems indeed inseparable from man; it is in a manner instinct in him.¹ His own helplessness, compared with the stupendous powers of nature which he sees constantly exerted around him, makes the savage ever anxiously look for some being of a higher order on whom to rely: and the man educated to exercise the faculties of his mind has only to reflect on himself, on his own abilities, his own weakness, his own knowledge, his own ignorance, his own happiness, his own misery, his own beginning, and his end, to be directed, not only to belief in some superior Being, but also to expectation of some future state, through mere conviction that nature hath given him both a great deal more and a great deal less than were necessary to fit him for this alone. Religion therefore can never be lost among mankind; but through the imperfection of our nature it is so prone to degenerate that superstition in one state of society, and scepticism in another, may, perhaps not improperly, be called nature's works. The variety indeed, and the grossness of the corruptions of religion, from which few pages in the annals of the world are pure,

¹ . . . Πάντες δὲ Θεῶν χατέουσ' ἄνθρωποι. Homer. Odyss. 1. 3. v. 48.

may well on first view excite wonder. But if we proceed to inquire after their origin, we find such sources in the nature and condition of man that nothing under a constant miracle could prevent those effects to which the history of all countries in all ages bears testimony. The fears of ignorance, the interest of cunning, the pride of science have been the mainsprings: every human passion has contributed its addition.

SECT.
I.

A firm belief however both in the existence of a Deity, and in the duty of communication with him, appears to have prevailed universally in the early ages.² But religion was then the common care of all men: a sacerdotal order was unknown: the patriarch or head of the family was chief in religious as in civil concerns: a preference to primogeniture seems always to have obtained:³ the eldest son succeeded regularly to the right of sacrificing, to the right of being priest of the family. When younger sons became fathers of families, they also superintended the domestic religion, each of his own household, and performed the domestic sacrifices; the patriarch and his successors remaining chief priests of the tribe. This order of things passed, remarkably unvaried, to Egypt, to Greece, to Rome, and very generally over the world.⁴

Shuckford's
Connexion
of Sacred
and Profane
History,
v. 2. b. 6.
p. 89.

² Ἀρχαῖος μὲν οὖν τις λόγος καὶ πάτριος ἐσι πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, ὃς ἐκ Θεοῦ τὰ πάντα καὶ διὰ Θεοῦ συνέτηκεν οὐδεμίᾳ δὲ φύσις αὐτὴ καθ' ἑαυτὴν αὐτάρκης, ἐρημωθεῖσα τῆς ἐκ τούτου σωτηρίας. Aristot. de mundo, c. 6.

Παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις πρῶτον νομίζεται τοὺς Θεοὺς σέβειν. Xen. Mem. Socr. l. 4. c. 4. s. 19.

³ This it was, according to Homer, that gave Jupiter himself his right of supremacy over his brothers; and the Fates and Furies were the vindicators of that right:

'Ολσθ' ὡς πρεσβυτέροισι 'Εγιννέες αἰὲν ἔπονται.

Iliad. l. 15. v. 204.

This subject is treated diffusively, with many references to

CHAP. II. But, concomitant circumstances differing in different countries, consequences differed. In Asia extensive empires seem almost to have grown as population extended. From earliest times the people were accustomed to look up to one family as presiding over national concerns, religious equally and political, by a hereditary right partaking in public opinion of divine authority. Ideas and habits were thus acquired congenial to despotic government: and in all the violent revolutions which that large and rich portion of the earth has undergone the notion of attachment to a particular family, as presiding by divine appointment over both the religious and civil polity of the nation, has prevailed, and prevails very extensively to this day. We have no certain account when or how the sacerdotal order of the magians arose. But it is a remarkable circumstance, of which we are informed by the most unsuspicious testimony, that by far the purest religion known among heathen nations remained in those countries whence all migration has been supposed to have originated: with extent of wandering savage ignorance grew.

We are not without information of peculiar causes which made Egypt the great school of superstition, while it was the seat of arts and knowledge. A prodigious population was there confined within a narrow territory, whose surrounding seas and deserts prevented extension of dominion, and checked communication with strangers. A more refined polity than prevailed in Asia, and freer communication of rights, becoming indispensable, the powerful families shared with the monarch the superintendency of the

Diodor. Sic.
I. I. c. 28.

the Scriptures and to heathen authors, in the sixth book of Shuckford's Connexion of Sacred and Profane History.

national religion. The priesthood thus and the nobility of the nation were one;⁵ and by a singular policy professions and callings were made hereditary through all ranks of men; so that the business of every man's life was unalterably determined by his birth. Priestcraft thus, among the rest, became the inalienable inheritance of particular families; and learning was their exclusive property. Natural wonders, more frequent there than elsewhere, assisted in disposing the people to superstition,⁶ while with singular interest to promote it a sacerdotal nobility had singular means. Thus the superstition of Egypt, rising to an extravagance unknown in any other country, was also supported by a union of powers that never met elsewhere.

SECT.
I.

The circumstances of Greece differed very materially. Its inhabitants were long barbarous, often migrating, continually liable to expulsion, and without regular government. Among wandering savages no idea could hold of a divine right inherent in any family to direct either the religious or the civil concerns of others. But the rude natives appear to have been generally ready to associate with any adventurers from the civilized countries of the East. It was not difficult for these to explain the advantages of a town, where the people might find safety for their persons when danger threatened their fields, and where, meeting occasionally to consult in common, they might provide means for ready exertion of united strength to repel those evils to which the unconnected inhabitants of scattered habitations were continually exposed. A man of knowledge and experience must

⁵ Diodorus compares the order of priests in Egypt to the order of nobles, the eupatrids, at Athens.

⁶ Τέρατά τε πλέω σφιν ἀνεύρηται ἡ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι ἅπασι ἀνθρώποισι. Herodot. l. 2. c. 82.

CHAP. II. preside in council, and direct the execution of what had been resolved in common. A town thus was built and fortified, a form of government settled, and an oriental superintending was honored with the title of king. Many of the principal Grecian cities, according to Grecian tradition, had their origin from a concurrence of circumstances like these. Constantly the king exercised supremacy in religious concerns; he was always chief priest, as every sacrifice in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* evinces; and he always endeavoured to acquire the reputation of divine authority for all his establishments. But the government being notoriously formed by compact, no idea of indefeasible right inherent in a sovereign family could readily gain: the compact alone could be supposed or pretended to be divinely authorized. The person of the king had no privilege but by the gift of the people. His civil consequence therefore depended upon his abilities and conduct. His religious character was otherwise estimated: not the person or family, but the title and office, were held sacred. It is remarkable that Athenian and Roman superstition, without any connexion between the people, should have agreed so exactly in the extraordinary circumstance that, after the abolition of royalty among both, and while the very name of king was abhorred as a title of civil magistracy or military command, yet equally the title and the office were scrupulously retained for the administration of religious ceremonies. It has been observed, that a priesthood was first established among the Jews when their government became a regular commonwealth. Such appropriation of religious functions, if the ministers are confined to their proper object, is perhaps not less advantageous to civil freedom than necessary to the maintenance of religion.

But among the Greeks two different religions

Shuckford's
Connexion.
Warbur-
ton's Div.
Leg.

prevailed; ⁷ both derived from those early ages called fabulous, both acknowledged by the same persons, and both equally warranted by the civil law. But one only was common to all the people, revered as the sanction of oaths, and thus properly every where the religion of the state. The other, entitled Mystical, was limited to select persons, who were bound to secrecy concerning its doctrine and much of its ceremonies; so that its character could be generally known only so far as it was displayed in some public exhibitions. Our earliest information concerning both is from poets. When publications in prose were first becoming common among the Greeks Herodotus declared his opinion that the religious tenets of his fellow countrymen became principally settled through the circulation of the poems of Homer and Hesiod; before which they were varying, as fancy excited superstition, or foreign adventurers communicated what engaged attention. The mystical doctrine, little if at all marked in Homer's extant works to have been known to him, appears largely laid open in the poems attributed to Hesiod and Orpheus, and thus was made in some degree perfect before the establishment of those institutions which afterward so rigorously enforced secrecy.⁸ In con-

Herodot. L. 2. c. 53.

⁷ Diodorus's account of the Greek gods in his fourth book, making them mere men deceased, some of them murdered, and all raised to the reputation of deity by the superstition of their own or the immediately following early age, is evidently no simple report of ancient traditions, but the manufacture of some philosopher of an age not much before the historian's. It seems indeed, like much in that writer, not to be depended on even as giving his own opinion; for it is irreconcileable with what frequently occurs in other parts of his work where the Grecian gods are mentioned.

⁸ Τὰ δηλούμενα διὰ τῶν Ὀρφικῶν ποιημάτων, καὶ τὰ παρεισαγόμενα κατὰ τὰς τελετὰς, περὶ ᾧν οὐ Θέμις τοῖς ἀμύκτοις ἴσορεῖν τὰ κατὰ μέρος. Diod. Sic. l. 3. c. 61.

CHAP. II. sequence of that rigorous denial of it to public discussion, whatever influence it may have had on public affairs, we find it very little noticed by ancient historians. The public therefore, as it remains delivered by Homer, and noticed by writers after him, and found continually connected with politics, will alone be our object here.

Plat.
Cratyl.
p. 397. 1

1. Greece, among doubts concerning it, mentions his opinion that the sun, moon, stars, and earth had been the only objects of religious worship; as yet, in his time, he adds, they were in most of the barbarous nations. In another part of his works we find recorded a different tradition of a very remarkable tenor. ‘ONE God,’ he says it was reported, ‘once governed the universe: but a great and extraordinary change taking place in the nature of men and things infinitely for the worse, (for originally there was perfect virtue and perfect happiness upon earth,) the command then devolved upon Jupiter, with many inferior deities to preside over different departments under him.’ Here in the same tradition we find the original unity of the deity asserted and an account attempted of the beginning of polytheism. Plato declares no opinion of his own upon either subject; but every thing remaining from him upon religion, and I think it may be added upon morality, involves the supposition of unity in the Deity; though warned by the fate of his master Socrates, he has been always cautious of directly contradicting any contrary belief.

The notion of a great and deplorable change in human nature and in the state of all things on earth, thus shortly mentioned by Plato, remains transmitted

Hesiod.
Op. & Di.
l. 1. v. 109.

more at large by a much older author: ‘The first race of men,’ according to Hesiod, ‘lived like gods,

in perfect happiness; exempt from labor, from the decrepitude of elderhood, and from all evil. The earth spontaneously supplied them with fruits in the greatest abundance.⁹ Dying at length without pain, they became happy and beneficent spirits, appointed by the divine wisdom to the royal function of superintending the future race of men, watching their good and evil ways.' This, which he calls the golden age or golden race, plainly foreign to all Grecian history, bears analogy to the scripture account of the terrestrial paradise and the state of man before the Fall, which is rendered still more striking by the remarkable consonance of his silver age to the scripture account of the antediluvian world after the Fall. 'The second race of men,' he proceeds, 'were like those of the golden age neither in nature nor in moral character. They scarcely reached manhood in a hundred years; yet not thus less subject to pain and folly, they died early. They were unceasing in violence and injustice toward one another, nor would they duly reverence the immortal gods. Jupiter therefore hid this race in his anger, because they honored not the blessed gods of heaven.' In speaking of the third race of men, which he calls the brazen race, the poet at length comes home to his own country, describing nearly that state of things which Plutarch has more particularly described in his life of Theseus.

Ch. 1. s. 3.
of this Hist.

The author of the treatise entitled *On the World*, ascribed to Aristotle, who withdrew from the intolerant tyranny of the Athenian democracy, declares his opinion upon the unity of the Deity and the origin of polytheism more explicitly than Plato, and

⁹ Plato says the first men σαρκῶν ἀπείχοντο, ὡς οὐχ ὄσιον ὁρέσθιειν, οὐδὲ τὸν τῶν θεῶν βωμὸν αἴματι μαινεῖν. De Leg. l. 6. vid. et Dicæarch. ap. Porphyri.

CHAP. II.
 Aristot. de Mund. c. 6. in a manner worthy a scholar of Socrates. ‘It is a tradition,’ says that writer, ‘received from of old among all men, that God is the creator and preserver of all things; and that nothing in nature is sufficient to its own existence without his superintending protection. Hence some of the ancients have held that all things are full of gods, obvious to sight, to hearing, and to all the senses; an opinion consonant enough to the power, but not to the nature of the Deity.—God, being ONE, has thus received many names, according to the variety of effects of which he is the cause.’

Aristot. de Mund. c. 7.

Such were the traditions of poets, and the opinions of philosophers. There remains yet for notice a testimony, not less remarkable or less important perhaps than any of these, which is implied in the narrative of an historian who seems not to have had this in his view, though we owe to him much valuable information. Herodotus, after an account of the origin of the names of the principal Grecian divinities, proceeds to say that, being at Dodona, he was there assured (apparently by the priests of the far-famed temple of Jupiter) that anciently the Pelasgian ancestors of the Grecian people sacrificed and prayed to gods to whom they gave no name or distinguishing appellation;¹⁰ ‘for,’ he adds, ‘they had never heard of any; but they called them gods, as the disposers and rulers of all things.’¹¹ It is hence evident that the Pelasgians can have acknowledged

¹⁰ -- επωνυμίην οὐδὲ οὔνομα. Herod. 1. 2. c. 52.

¹¹ Herodotus appears to have supposed the Greek name for God to have been derived from a Greek verb signifying to place or dispose: other Grecian authors have imagined other etymologies for it: but it seems rather probable that it had a more ancient origin than any derivation within the Greek language.

but one God; for where many gods are believed, SECT.
I. distinguishing appellations will and must be given: but the unity of the Deity precludes all need of names.

That purer religion then, according to this unsuspicious testimony of Herodotus, was brought into Greece by its first inhabitants. It was occasionally nourished and received accessions, not probably advantageous to its purity, from Thrace; but the absurdities of Grecian polytheism, as we are abundantly assured, were derived principally from Egypt.¹² The colonists, who passed from that polished country to savage Greece, would of course communicate their religious tenets.¹³ The rude natives, according to all traditions, listened greedily to instruction on a subject in which they felt themselves deeply interested; and thought it an important improvement to be able to name many gods whose stories were related to them, instead of sacrificing to one only without a name, of whose will they were wholly uninformed, and of whose nature they had no satisfactory conception. Nor is the transition violent, for ignorant people, from a vague idea of one omnipresent Deity, to the belief of a separate divine essence in different places and in every different thing. On the contrary, the popular superstitions of almost all nations show it congenial to the human mind; which wants exercise of its powers to enable it to exalt thought to the conception of one Almighty and boundless Being. Polytheism therefore once disseminated, the lively imagination of the Greeks would not be confined

¹² See Warburton's Divine Legation, Shuckford's Connexion of Sacred and Profane History, Bryant's Analysis of Ancient Mythology, and Pownall on the Study of Antiquities, with the numerous authorities by them quoted.

¹³ See on this subject Herodotus, Plato, and Diodorus Siculus.

CHAP. II. within the limits of Egyptian instruction. Their country, with fewer objects of wonder, abounded with incentives to fancy, which Egypt wanted. Hence, beside Juno, Vesta, Themis, whom they added to the principal divinities derived from the marshy banks of the Nile, every Grecian mountain acquired its Oreads, every wood its Dryads, every fountain its Naiad, the sea its Tritons and its Nereids, and every river its god; the variety of the seasons produced the Hours; and the Muses and the Graces were the genuine offspring of the genius of the people. Thus were divinities so multiplied before Homer's time that nobody any longer undertook to say how many there were not.

And now the Grecian gods were changed from the One Almighty parent of good, not less in attributes than in number. Jupiter, the chief of them, was not omnipotent: omnipresence was not among his attributes; nor was he all-seeing; and as perfect goodness was nowhere to be found in Homer's heaven, so there was no perfect happiness there. The chief of the gods appears to have been supposed under both the control and the protection of Fate: he is described under apprehension from his inferior deities; he was subject to various weaknesses; liable to be overcome by passion; and the goddess of mischief, Ate, was said to be his eldest daughter. Consistently with all this the inferior deities are represented generally more disposed to disturb than assist the government of the chief; and he accordingly, without confidence in their wisdom and right intentions, is introduced placing his whole dependence on his own strength only. Hence also their reverence for him, not because he was wise and good, but because he was strong. Minerva the goddess of wisdom, speaking

Herodot. I. 2. c. 50.

Hesiod. Op. & Di. I. 1. v. 75.

Iliad. I. 13. v. 1. & seq.

Iliad. I. 15. v. 204. & I. 16. v. 443. et seq.

Iliad. I. 19. v. 91.

Iliad. I. 8. v. 5. v. 210.

of the sovereign of the gods, and calling him her father, imputes to him ‘raging with an evil mind, ‘in perpetual opposition to her inclinations.’ The same goddess is represented advising Pandarus to endeavour to bribe Apollo with the promise of a hecatomb, to assist him in assassinating Menelaus, contrary to the faith of a solemn treaty; and Jupiter himself joins with that goddess and Juno in promoting so foul a murder, which was to involve the basest treachery and the most offensive perjury. We cannot but wonder to find the goddess of wisdom and the sovereign of the gods reported to be thus employed. Yet the belief that villainy so often seen triumphant was frequently favored by some superior power, or however that the mere crime against the neighbour seldom or never offended the Deity, appears not unnatural, and certainly has been extensively held.¹⁴ It is worthy of remark, that a religion which acknowledges only one God has not taught the Turks to reason more justly: ‘Whatever the intention may ‘have been,’ says the elegant and judicious Busbequius in the account of his embassy at the Ottoman court, ‘if the event is prosperous, they suppose God to ‘have authorized the deed:’ in support of which he relates some remarkable occurrences in Turkish history, and a conversation which he held concerning them with a Turk of rank.

Thus imperfect as the chief of the Grecian heaven is represented, still that the Greeks derived their first notion of him from the power of a king of Crete, is

¹⁴ See Odyss. l. 3. v. 273. & l. 16. v. 398. Aristoph. Plut. v. 28—38. Plat. de Rep. l. 2. p. 362. t. 2. and de Leg. l. 10. p. 905. et seq.; but particularly Glaucon’s long argument in favor of injustice in the second book of Plato’s Republic, which the philosopher with difficulty, and scarcely, refutes.

CHAP. an opinion as unauthorized by the oldest poets and historians as it is in itself improbable, not to say impossible. Homer's invocation to the Dodonæan Pelasgian Jupiter suffices indeed alone to refute the idea.

II.

Iliad.
I. 16. v.
233.

Plat.
Cratyl.
p. 369. t. 1.

But that a king of Crete, like the Cæsars in more enlightened ages, may have been complimented with a title usually appropriated to the Deity is likely enough. Of the name Zeus (by which the Greeks in general distinguished the chief from their imagined subordinate deities) Plato says, that it is not easy to be understood; and the fanciful explanation of it, which he has undertaken to give, appears,¹⁵ like some other etymologies, little worthy of the great name under whose authority it comes to us. But it seems fully consistent with the analogy of letters, as well as from many circumstances highly probable, that the Greek and Latin names for their Deity, as they were variously inflected, Theos, or rather Theo, Deo, Dia, Zeu, Jove, and the Hebrew which we write Jehovah, though in the oriental orthography it has only four letters, were originally one name.¹⁶

¹⁵ The Cratylus is one of the dialogues written to expose the sophists; and many of the etymons proposed in it are probably mere banters. See the very intelligent account of Plato and his works, published in the Encyclopædia Metropolitana, Pt. 9. Biographical Divis. p. 76. E.

¹⁶ See Monde primitif analysé et comparé, par M. Court de Gebelin, vol. i. p. 166. & Récherches sur les Arts de la Grèce, vol. i. notes 96. 97. et 118. In the language, or at least in the orthography, of our Anglo-Saxon forefathers GOD and GOOD were one word, written with a single o; and so perhaps the Latin JUS or JU may in early times have signified equally RIGHT and JUPITER. The two latter syllables of the god's name, omitted in all the oblique cases, appear to have gained vogue in the nominative and vocative only from the form of invocation usual in the Greek equally as in the Latin, *Zeū πάτερ*.

Ideas concerning that fate, which was supposed to decide the lot of gods equally as of men, could not but be very indeterminate. Fate was personified, sometimes as one, sometimes as three sister-beings. The three Furies, or avenging deities are found represented sometimes as the same with the Fates, sometimes as attending powers. Either or both, for the superstition which occasioned a dread of naming them makes distinction difficult, were often mentioned by the respectful title of the Venerable Goddesses.¹⁷ They seem indeed to have been the only Grecian deities who were supposed incapable of wrong. Evil spirits, in the modern sense of the term, are not found mentioned. But such was the acknowledged imperfection of the Grecian heaven that Hesiod expressly declares it to have been the office of the Fates and Furies ‘to punish the transgressions of MEN and GODS.’¹⁸ It seems to have

SECT.
I.

The value of letters in the Hebrew language is so uncertain that any conjecture concerning them must be hazardous. In a language of such near affinity to it as the Chaldee, transmitted to us with the same letters, the name of the Deity, written in the Hebrew יְהוָה, is “”. This, with the preposition ‘וְ’ or ‘וּ’, expressing the possessive case, prefixed, approaches very nearly to the Greek Διοῦ, and the Latin Dei, Dii, Divi. It is to be observed, that the modern Greeks pronounce Δ like the English TH, in THIS, THERE; and Υ, when it follows Α or Ε, as our v consonant. The ancient Lacedæmonians, as we learn from the specimens of the Laconic dialect in the Lysistrata of Aristophanes, and in Hel. 1. 4. Xenophon’s Grecian Annals, pronounced Σ for Θ; and if we c. 4. s. 10. might believe the Abbé Fourmount’s account of inscriptions found in Laconia, inserted in the 15th vol. of the Memoirs of the French Academy of Inscriptions, they wrote so. Concerning the analogy of letters, Sharp on the Origin of Languages, and Pownall on the Study of Antiquities, may be advantageously consulted by those who have leisure and inclination for such inquiries.

¹⁷ Σεμναὶ θεαὶ, venerandæ deæ.

¹⁸ —— ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε παραιβασίας ἐφέπονται..

Theogon. v. 220.

CHAP. II. been supposed the principal office of Jupiter to superintend the performance of the decrees of Fate; and for that purpose to keep a watchful eye over the ways of both mortals and immortals. Fate therefore being but a blind power, and Jupiter a very imperfect divinity, we shall the less wonder to find it mentioned by Homer as possible, which yet appears a strange inconsistency, that things contrary to fate may be done, not only by gods, but even by men.¹⁹

II. 1. 2. v. 155. &
I. 20. v. 30. & 336.

The scheme of analysing the Deity, and establishing a symbol for every attribute, to be a separate object of popular adoration, originating probably with the priestly nobility of Egypt, was certainly well adapted to their purpose of setting themselves far above the other classes. The complicated veil thus

¹⁹ There is in the Prometheus of Æschylus a very curious passage concerning necessity, the Fates, and the power of Jupiter, in which the poet remarkably avoids explaining what fate is: Prometheus and the Chorus speak :

Cho. Τίς οὖν ἀνάγκης ἐστὶν οἰακοστρόφος ;
 Prom. Μοῖσαι τρίμορφοι, μυήμονές τ' Ἐδωνίες.
 Cho. Τούτων ἄρ' ὁ Ζεύς ἐστιν ἀσθενέστερος.
 Prom. Οὐκονν ἂν ἐκφίγοι γε τὴν πεπρωμένην.
 Cho. Τί γὰρ πέπρωται Ζηνὺ πλὴν ἀεὶ κρατεῖν ;
 Prom. Τοῦτ' οὐκ ἂν οὖν πέθοιο, μηδὲ λιπάρει.

Prometh. Vinet. p. 34. ed. H. Steph.

Herodotus relates a response of the Delphian oracle, declaring the subjection of the gods to the power of Fate: Τὴν πεπρωμένην μοίρην ἀδύνατά ἔσι ἀποφυγέειν καὶ Θεῷ. l. 1. c. 91. This is the more remarkable for being given as an apology for the oracle, whenever it had the misfortune to make a mistake or tell a falsehood. The god of science being thus fallible, we shall not wonder if the wisdom of the goddess of art was also imperfect. Notwithstanding the veneration of the Athenians for the tutelary deity of their state, Æschylus, in his tragedy named from the Furies, has not scrupled to make Minerva, while she respects those horrible goddesses as her superiors in age, acknowledge that they were also very much her superiors in wisdom:

'Ογγὸς ξυνοίσω σοι γεραιτέρα γὰρ εἴ.
 Καίτοι γε μὴν σὺν κάρτ' ἔμουν σοφωτέρα.

Æschyl. Eumenid. p. 302. ed. H. Steph.

SECT.
I.

thrown over the original simple doctrine of religion they reserved to themselves to withdraw; and except for their own order it was never moved. But, among the early troubles of Egypt some expelled nobles finding settlements perhaps first in Asia Minor and Thrace, and afterward, as Danaus and Cecrops, in Greece, to maintain their superiority in the new countries, it became necessary to look for associates beyond the scanty number of ancient Egyptian nobility who had emigrated with them. This seems the most probable origin of the Eleusinian and other mysteries; the initiation in which, as far as the very imperfect lights remaining will enable us to form conjecture, appears to have consisted for its most important part in revealing to the initiated the ancient simple religion, and especially the unity of the Deity, and the immortality of the soul of man.

Idolatry, as far as appears from Homer, was in his time unknown in Greece; and even temples were not common, though those of Minerva at Athens, Apollo at Delphi, and Neptune at Ægæ seem to have been of some standing. Sacrifices were performed, as by the Jewish patriarchs, on altars raised in open air: and prayers were addressed, though to many, yet to deities beyond the search of human eyes. We find Nestor sacrificing to Neptune on the sea-shore;²⁰ to Minerva before the portico of his palace; and the terms in which Homer mentions the fanes of Apollo at Delphi and Minerva at Athens mark them to have been roofless. A temple of Cybele without a roof remained, to the time of Pausanias, in Arcadia, near the source of the Alpheus. The ancient Egyptian temples, made known from

²⁰ Strabo says there was afterward a temple of Neptune at or near the place, l. 8. p. 344.

CHAP. late observation, we find had spaces inclosed with columns without roof; and the form of the first Grecian temples did not probably originate in Greece, but was imported from Egypt or Syria. Our venerable antiquity of Stonehenge appears to have been a temple of the same kind, though of the rudest workmanship; and the resemblance which the pillars found in the distant island of Tinian in the Pacific Ocean bear both to Stonehenge and to the columns of the oldest Grecian temples, a kind of midway form between the extreme rudeness of the former and the finished elegance of the latter, may deserve observation.²¹

Nor is there found in Homer any mention of hero-worship, or divine honors paid to men deceased, which became afterward so common.²² Indeed, though

²¹ The very remarkable antiquity in Tinian is described, and represented in an engraving, in Anson's Voyage; and I have in my possession a drawing of it made on the spot by the purser of the Gloucester, whose crew was, on the destruction of that ship, taken aboard the Centurion. The purser, whose name was Melichamp, had some skill in painting; and his drawing of the columns in Tinian and the view in Anson's Voyage being taken from different points, and with different accompaniments, vouch for the truth, each of the other.

This manner of temple it seems is yet preserved in the interior of Africa. 'The Bushreens' (Mahometan negroes between the Senegal and the Gambia) 'have for their missura' (thus the writer has proposed to mark their pronunciation of the Arabic word which we call mosk) 'a square piece of level ground surrounded with trunks of trees. Mosks of this kind are very common, but having neither walls nor roof, are fit only for fine weather.' Park's Travels in Africa, p. 252. ed. 4to. 1799.

²² The terms Ἡμίθεος and Θεῖον γένος, used by Hesiod,* seem but titles of compliment to his heroes, analogous to Δῖος, so common with Homer, or the phrase, That the people revered their leaders as gods. All perhaps may show a tendency to a

* Op. & Di. l. 1. v. 158. 159.

invocations were occasionally addressed to numberless divinities, yet the great objects of worship and sacrifice seem to have been only Jupiter, Neptune, Apollo, and Minerva; all, together with Fate itself, originally but different names for the ONE GOD, considered with respect to different powers, functions, or attributes, as the divine wisdom, the god of light and life, the creator and ruler of all things.²³ Grecian religion therefore being raised without system on a foundation of mistake, incongruities were natural to it.

SECT.
I.

The sum of the duty of men to the gods consisted, *Iliad.*
 according to Homer, in sacrifice only. That due ^{I. 4. v. 49. &}
 honor was paid him by offerings on his altars, is the ^{I. 24. v. 70.}
 reason given by Jupiter for his affection for the Tro-
 jans, and particularly for Hector. Songs to the gods, ^{I. 6. v. 267.}
 we are told, were also grateful to them; ablution was ^{I. 9. v. 529.}
 often a necessary ceremony before sacrifice or liba- ^{& al. I. 4. v. 473.}
 tion; but without sacrifice nothing was effectual. Sa- ^{& al. I. 5. v. 178.}
 crifices, promised or performed, are alone urged in
 prayer to promote the granting of the petition; and
 the omission of sacrifices due was supposed surely to
 excite divine resentment. A sacrifice then, it is to be
 observed, was always more or less a work of charity,
 providing a meal for the many, and therefore a duty
 only of those who had means for it. This excepted,
 it is here and there only, as stars glittering for a

worship not in their time practised, and might even help to lead to it; as might also more particularly Hesiod's doctrine, whencesoever derived, of the charge committed to the exalted spirits of the men of the golden age over the future race of mankind.*

²³ Εἰς δὲ ὅν πολυάνυμός ἐστι, κ. τ. λ. Aristot. de Mundo, c. 7. or, according to Æschylus, Prometh. v. 210.

Πολλῶν ὀνομάτων μορφὴ μία.

Bryant, in his Analysis of Ancient Mythology, has collected testimony to the point from various heathen authors.

* Op. & Di. I. 1. v. 120.

CHAP. moment through small bright openings in a stormy
II. sky, that we find some sparks of morality connected
Odyss. with Homer's religion. Minerva recommends Ulysses
1. 5. v. 7. to the favor of the gods for being a good and just
Iliad. king; and those who give unjust judgments are
1. 16. v. 386. threatened with divine vengeance. Perjury however,
as the crime most particularly affronting to them-
selves, was what they were supposed most particularly
Iliad. disposed to revenge.²⁴ ‘Jupiter,’ we are told, ‘will
1. 4. v. 235. ‘not favor the false.’ Thus was established the
Odyss.
1. 14. v. 38. strongest sanction for moral and civil order. ‘The
‘blessed gods,’ we are told in another place, ‘love
‘not evil deeds; but they honor justice, and the
‘righteous works of men;’ after which follows a re-
markable passage: ‘Even when the hardened and
‘unrighteous invade the lands of others, though Ju-
‘piter grant them the spoil, and, loading their ships,
‘they arrive every one at his home, still the strong
‘fear of vengeance dwells on their minds.’²⁵ The
whole of this speech in the *Odyssey* forms a striking
picture of that anxious uncertainty concerning the
ways of God, his favor to men, and their duty to
him, which considerate but uninformed persons could
scarcely be without. Hesiod, who had evidently com-
municated much less extensively among mankind than

²⁴ Ὅρκον θ', δε δὴ πλεῖστον ἐπιχθονίους ἀνθρώπους
Πημαίνει, δέ τε κέν τις ἔκδων ἐπίορκον ὄμδοστη.

Hesiod. *Theogon.* v. 231.

²⁵ In translating quotations from Greek authors I prefer the risk of some uncouthness of phrase to those wide deviations from the original expression for which French criticism allows large indulgence. Even poetry I have always endeavoured to render, as nearly as possible, word for word. Our language is certainly more favorable for this purpose than the French. But Pope's translation, itself an admirable poem, will seldom answer the end of those who desire to know with any precision what Homer has said.

Homer, takes upon him with honest zeal to denounce more particularly the vengeance of the Deity against those who wrong their neighbours. He threatens even whole states with famine and pestilence, the destruction of their armies, the wreck of their fleets, and all sorts of misfortunes, for the unpunished injustice of individuals. At the same time he indiscreetly promises peace and plenty, and all temporal rewards, from the favor of the gods to the upright: concluding however with some remarks not less worthy the philosopher than the poet, which are the foundation of that beautiful and well-known allegory the Choice of Hercules, and which have been variously repeated in all the languages of Europe.²⁶

SECT. I.

Hesiod.
Op. & Di.
l. 1. v. 211
—290.

Among the Greeks afterward of the most polished ages the belief was evidently popular that their early forefathers on momentous occasions made human sacrifices; and yet neither Homer nor Hesiod warrant it. But the sacrifice of Iphigenia, unnoticed by those poets of remotest antiquity, is mentioned by the next known, though with wide interval after them, Pindar and Æschylus. After these again the philosophic

Ch. 1. s. 4.
of this Hist.Pindar.
Pyth. 2.
Æschyl.
Agamem.
p. 220. ed.

²⁶ The deficiency of Homer's religious and moral system remained to a late age in Greece. It is abundantly observable among the poets, and not a little in Euripides, especially in his Hippolytus. A very remarkable passage in the second book of Plato's Republic (p. 364. t. 2.) shows how little in his time a virtuous and blameless life was supposed a recommendation to divine favor, and how much more importance was attributed to sacrifice and the observation of ceremonies. Plutarch, in his life of Pericles, toward the end, shows a prevalence of similar notions remaining to his late age in spite of the long cultivation of philosophy: but the laughing Lucian, adopting juster sentiments, made the discordance of Grecian religion with all morality an object of his just satire: 'Εγὼ γὰρ, ἄχρι μὲν ἐν παισὶν ἦν, ἀκούων Ὁμήρου καὶ Ἡσιόδου πολέμους καὶ τάσεις διηγουμένων, κ. τ. λ. Necyomant.

H. Steph.

CHAP. II. Euripides, the friend of Socrates, took a story of the sacrifice of a daughter of Erechtheus, king of Athens, for the subject of a tragedy, which we find an eminent orator of the next age, the age of Plato, Aristotle, and Demosthenes, recommending to the admiration of the Athenian people. Nor was this work, of which but a small fragment has been preserved, the only one in which that poet showed his favor to the kind of subject, and his opinion of its popularity; for in his tragedy of Hecuba, which fortunately remains extant, the lovely Polyxena, daughter of the unfortunate queen, is devoted to sacrifice. How the notion should have arisen, and gained popular credit between the ages of Homer and Pindar, seems difficult to conjecture; and the more so as the human sacrifices celebrated by the most eminent poets are attributed to the times of which Homer treated, or times even before them.

The different functions of the gods, and the different and often opposite parts which they were supposed to take in human affairs, were a plentiful source of superstitious rites, as well as of advantages to those who, in consequence either of office or their own pretensions, were supposed to have more immediate communication with any deity. ‘Tell me which of the immortals hinders me!’ the anxious question of Menelaus to the daughter of Proteus, must have occurred often as a most perplexing doubt in disappointment and calamity. Without information which of the gods was adverse, the expense of propitiatory hecatombs was vain; for the number of Grecian divinities was in Homer’s time far beyond the bounds of calculation, as we may learn from the address of Ulysses to the unknown deity of a river: and when afterward the number of worshipped gods was pro-

Odys.

I. 4. v. 380.

Odys.

I. 5. v. 445.

digiously increased, those unnamed and unknown SECT.
I.
were not the less innumerable.

The opinion was general that the gods often visited Odyss. 1. 3.
the earth, sometimes in visible shape; and that they v. 420. &
interfered in human concerns upon all occasions. l. 17. v. 484.
Numberless passages in various authors prove that l. 7. v. 201.
this belief continued long popular. Throughout & mult. al.
Homer's poems the splendid actions of men always, loc. Iliad.
and sometimes those of little consequence, are attributed & Odyss.
to the immediate influence of some deity. Iliad. 1. 23.
Thus Ulysses says, not 'If I shall overcome the v. 863.
'proud suitors,' but 'If God through me shall over- Odyss.
'come the proud suitors.' These opinions could not l. 19.
but have powerful effects. They were sometimes v. 483.
an incentive to bravery, sometimes an excuse for cowardice; often they decided the fate of a battle. In the sixth book of the Iliad the Trojans are de- Iliad. 1. 6.
scribed yielding before the Greeks; but encouraged v. 108.
by Hector they stand and renew the engagement. This turn, the cause of which was not immediately apparent, excited in the Greeks a sudden fancy that some divinity had descended from heaven to assist their enemies, who in consequence recovered the advantage. From the liveliness of the poet's description it might be supposed that he had been eye-witness to some such circumstance.

It is so easy in times of general ignorance for men of some cunning to find means of cheating the more thoughtless into an extravagant opinion of their abilities, and mankind is, through the uncertain foresight of reason, so interested in future events, that no country has been without its soothsayers. Those fixed oracles, afterward so important in Grecian politics, seem not to have had, so early as the Trojan war, any extensive celebrity. The prophetic groves Odyss.
of the Pelasgian Jupiter at Dodona had indeed fame; l. 14. v. 327.

& l. 19.
 v. 296.
 Iliad. l. 9.
 v. 404.
 Odys. l. 8.
 v. 79. Xen.
 Apol. Socr.
 s. 12.
 Strabo, l. 9.
 p. 417.
 & 420.
 Odys.
 l. 8. v. 75.

but situated far northward beyond vast ridges of mountains, the southern Greeks (whose continual quarrels, and thence continual dangers, made oracles more interesting to them, and their history more interesting to posterity) could less conveniently seek information there. Delphi thus, situated near the middle of the warring states, attracted more consideration. Mentioned both in the Iliad and Odyssey by the name of Pytho, a name which continued long to be applied to the temple and sacred precinct, it must already have had reputation for prophetical powers, which alone apparently could procure it those riches for which it was already remarkable. But it was less usual at great trouble and expense to consult a distant oracle, while the belief was yet popular that individuals were everywhere to be found so inspired by the deity as to have the power of foretelling events without depending upon any particular temple, or sacred place, as a peculiar residence of the god. Views of interest, as we learn from Homer, often induced men, of abilities and experience really superior, to pretend to such divine intercourse. Calchas, the

Iliad. l. 1.
 v. 71.

great seer of the Grecian army before Troy, who is said to have known things past, present, and future, was also the chief pilot of the fleet; and the poet attributes his knowledge even as a pilot, not to his experience, but to the immediate inspiration of Apollo. Augury, or the pretended science of divination by observation of various circumstances of nature, highly respected in the most polished ages of Greece, was already in some repute. It appears however doubtful in what estimation Homer himself held it. He makes Hector, the most pious and the most amiable of his heroes, speak of it with contempt:²⁷ yet in the end

²⁷ Where he utters that noble sentiment of patriotic heroism: *Ἐτὶς οἰωνὸς ἄριστος, ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ πάτρης.*—Iliad. l. 12. v. 243.

he makes the same Hector acknowledge the superior *Iliad.* l. 22.
v. 99.
wisdom of Polydamas, who confided in augury.

The human soul was generally believed immortal; but it is a gloomy, discontented, nugatory immortality that Homer assigns even to his greatest characters.²⁸ The Celtic bards and Teutonic scalds far otherwise inspired contempt of danger and ambition to die in battle. The difference had been observed in Lucan's time, and forcibly struck the lively imagination of that poet.²⁹ Yet the drunken paradise of the Scandinavian Oden, the Woden of our Anglo-Saxon ancestors, often mistakenly considered as originating in a grossness of manners, and ideas peculiar to the Teutonic hordes, was really a notion, as we learn from Plato, of the highest antiquity among the Greeks. If it was known to Homer, his taste indeed rejected it; but his judgment was unable to clear away the various other absurdities of popular belief, or to put forward any rational system. Some idea of reward and punishment in a future life pre-

²⁸ Hence those lines in Virgil's invocation to Augustus:

— Nam te nec sperent Tartara regem,
Nec tibi regnandi veniat tam dira cupido :
Quamvis Elysios miretur Græcia campos,
Nec repetita sequi curet Proserpina matrem.

Georg. l. 1. v. 36.

²⁹ Et vos barbaricos ritus moremque sinistrum
Sacerorum, Druidæ, positis repetitis ab armis.
Solis nôsse deos, et celi numina vobis,
Aut solis nescire datum. Nemora alta remotis
Incolitis lucis. Vobis auctoribus, umbræ
Non tacitas Erebi sedes, Ditisque profundi
Pallida regna petunt: regit idem spiritus artus
Orbe alio: longæ (canitis si cognita) vitæ
Mors media est. Certe populi, quos despicit Arctos,
Felices errore suo, quos ille, timorum
Maximus, haud urget leti metus! Inde ruendi
In ferrum mens prona viris, animæque capaces
Mortis, et ignavum reddituræ parcere vita.

Lucan. *Pharsal.* l. 1. v. 450.

CHAP. vailed in his age; but it was impossible that it should
 II. be regulated by any just criterion of moral good and
 evil, where morality had so little connexion with re-
 ligion, and where every vice found favor with the
 gods. As Hesiod's morality is more pure, so his
 notions of a future state are less melancholy than
 those of Homer.

SECTION II.

Of the government and jurisprudence of the early Greeks.

In painting the religion, government, manners, arts, and knowledge of the age of Agamemnon Homer seems to give precisely those of his own time. He nowhere marks any difference, and no good reason appears for supposing that any considerable difference was known to him, if indeed any existed. As a poet, he magnifies the strength of men of old; but without at all attributing, like some later and modern writers, the decay of strength to any change of manners: and we find explained by Hesiod, what in Homer is only implied, that, as the heroes of his poems were mostly sons or grandsons of gods or goddesses, it was consonant to the nature of things that they should be endowed with very superior abilities to the men of his own days, who were some generations farther removed from such lofty origin.³⁰

As late then as Homer's own time the Greeks had not arrogated to themselves any superiority of

³⁰ Αὗται μὲν θυητοῦσι παρ' ἀνδράσιν εὐνηθεῖσαι
 Ἀθάναται γείναντο θεοῖς ἐπιείκελα τέκνα.

Hes. Theogon. v. 1019.

And to the same purpose a quotation in the third book of Plato's Republic,* Οὐπώ σφιν ἔξιτηλον αἷμα δαιμόνων.

* Vol. 2. p. 391.

national character above the people of the surrounding countries; and in fact they seem not yet to have excelled their neighbours in any circumstance of science, art, or civilization. The term barbarian was not yet in use; they had not a name even for themselves collectively: and they scarcely seem to have considered themselves as unitedly forming a distinct nation; a Peloponnesian esteeming a Thessalian, as such, little more his fellow-countryman than a native of Phenicia or Egypt. The connexion between the inhabitants of the several states, which appears alone to have had any great weight, was consanguinity. For this the Greeks retained long such a regard as greatly to influence their politics. It was indeed natural that, while the tenure of cities and countries was so very precarious, the opinion of being descended from the same common ancestors should bind men more strongly together than the mere circumstance of possessing territories bounded by the same mountains or the same seas. There was hardly a leader in the Trojan war, who was not connected by blood with many others. This would not a little facilitate the forming of so extensive a league; and the league itself might contribute to strengthen the connexion. But any tradition, however uncertain, or after whatsoever interval revived, of derivation from the same forefathers, had to a late period remarkable influence among the Grecian people.

Yet we find in Homer no trace of the divisions of the Greek nation into Ionian, Æolian, and Dorian, which became afterward of so great consideration. The whole country was under the dominion of those kindred chieftains, every town of any consequence having its own prince; and the subjects were a mixed people, strangers being everywhere admitted to mu-

Thucyd.
l. 1. c. 3.

CHAP. II. nicipal rights with little reserve. But the ancient Grecian princes, so Dionysius of Halicarnassus has remarked, were not absolute like the Asiatic monarchs; their power was limited by laws and established customs. This observation, supported by the higher authority of Thucydides,³¹ is not only confirmed, but explained in some detail, by the still superior testimony of Homer. The poet himself appears a warm friend to monarchal rule, and takes every opportunity zealously to inculcate loyalty. It is a common expression with him, that ‘the people revered their ‘leaders as gods;’ and he attributes to kings a degree of divine right to respect and authority. ‘The ‘honor of the king,’ says Ulysses in the Iliad, ‘is from Jupiter, and the allwise Jupiter loves him:’ and again, ‘The government of many is bad: let there ‘be one chief, one king.’ It is however sufficiently evident that the poet means here to speak of executive government only: ‘Let there be one chief, one ‘king,’ he says, but he adds, ‘to whom Jupiter hath ‘intrusted the sceptre and the laws, THAT BY THEM ‘HE MAY GOVERN.’ Accordingly, in every Grecian government which he had occasion to enlarge upon, he plainly shows strong principles of republican rule. Not only the council of principal men, but the assembly of the people also is familiar to him. The name AGORA, signifying a place of meeting, and the verb formed from it, to express haranguing in assemblies of the people, were already in common use; and to be a good public speaker was esteemed among the highest qualifications a man could possess. In the government of Phæacia, as described in the

³¹ Ἡσαν ἐπὶ δητοῖς γέρασι πατρικὰ βασιλεῖαι. Thucyd. 1. 1. c. 13.

Odyssey, the mixture of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy is not less clearly marked than in the British constitution. One chief, twelve peers, (all honored like the chief with that title which we translate king,) and the assembly of the people shared the supreme authority.³² The universal and undoubted prerogatives of kings were religious supremacy and military command. They exercised also judicial power.³³ But in all civil concerns their authority appears narrowly limited. Everything indeed that remains concerning government in the oldest Grecian poets and historians tends to demonstrate that the general spirit of it among the early Greeks was nearly the same as among our Teutonic ancestors. The ordinary business of the community was directed by the chiefs. Concerning extraordinary matters, and more essential interests, the multitude claimed a right to be consulted: and it was commonly found expedient to consult them.

SECT. II.

Odyss. I. 8. v. 385.

Tacit. de Mor. Germ. c. 11.

³² Κέκλυτε, Φαιῆκων ἡγήτορες, ἥδε μέδουτες.Δώδεκα γὰρ κατὰ δῆμον ἀριπρεπέες βασιλῆes
Ἄρχοι κραίνουσι, τρισκαιδέκατος δ' ἐγὼ αὐτός.

Odyss. I. 8. v. 387.

This phrase would seem to describe an oligarchical or aristocratical rather than a monarchal government, but that the superior authority of the monarch is marked in other passages. The titles both *βασιλεὺς* and *ἄναξ* were anciently given to any powerful men, without accurate distinction. The former became afterward strictly appropriated as our title king now is, but the latter continued long to be more loosely applied, as may be seen in the *Oedipus Tyrannus* of Sophocles, v. 85. 312. 643. & 930. Isocrates uses *βασιλεὺς* as exactly synonymous with king, and *ἄναξ* as exactly synonymous with prince, calling the king's sons *ἄνακτες*, and his daughters *άνασσαι*. Evag. encom. p. 318. t. 2. ed. Auger.

³³ Κύροι δὲ ἡσαν (οἱ βασιλεῖς) τῆς τε κατὰ πόλεμον ἡγεμονίας, καὶ τῶν θυσιῶν, ὅσαι μὴ ἱερατικαὶ, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις τὰς δίκας ἔκρινον. Aristot. Polit. I. 3. c. 14. See also Thueydides, b. I. c. 13.

CHAP.
II.

Thus much we learn with certainty of the principles of government in Homer's age: and we are not less informed that the application of them was very generally irregular and ineffectual. The whole tenor of the *Odyssey* shows on how weak a foundation all political institutions rested. It appears to have been universally understood that monarchies were in some degree hereditary; and the right of primogeniture was strongly favored by popular opinion. Yet Homer, advocate as he is for monarchy, seems plainly to admit a right in the people to interfere, and direct the succession. Telemachus was to succeed unquestionably to his father's private property; but the succession to the throne was legally open to competition: there was always room for the pretensions of the worthiest, which was but another name for the most powerful. It has been said to have been Homer's intention, after having in the *Iliad* set bodily abilities in the most brilliant light, to show in the *Odyssey* the preeminence of mental powers. Yet such was the state of things in his age, that, to give mental powers any efficacy, he has been obliged to add a high degree, indeed a general superiority, of bodily strength and bodily accomplishments. Hence even the most renowned princes were reduced in the decrepitude of years to resign the powers of royalty, and esteem themselves fortunate if they could retain the honors. The government of the islands over which Laertes, and after him his son Ulysses, reigned, was, if we may judge from Homer, at least as well regulated as any of Greece; and those princes are represented equally beloved and respected by the people. Yet in the absence of the son, in the vigor of manhood, the venerable character of the father was utterly unable to preserve its

Odyss.
l. 1. v. 386.
& 401.See par-
ticularly
Odyss.
l. 8. v. 158.
—234.

due authority. ‘Tell me,’ says the shade of Achilles *Odyss.*
to Ulysses in the Elysian fields, ‘do the Myrmidons
^{L. 11. v. 493.}
‘yet honor the illustrious Peleus? Or is he set at
‘naught, since age hath enfeebled his limbs, and I
‘no longer his assistant exist under the light of the
‘sun, such as in the fields of Troy I dealt death to
‘the bravest while I fought for the Greeks? If such
‘I could return but for a moment to my father’s
‘house, those should dread my strength and my
‘invincible arm, who violate his rights, or obtrude
‘upon his honors.’

It appears nevertheless that government and the administration of justice had acquired considerable strength and steadiness, through Peloponnesus at least, since the age of Hercules and Theseus. The political state of that country in the times which Homer describes very much resembled that of the kingdoms of western Europe in the feudal ages. The chiefs, whom we call kings, were as the barons who exercised royal rights within their own territories; all acknowledging the head of the Pelopidean family as lord paramount. The kings of Argos having been able men, the consequence of this subordination, however checked for a time by the usurpation of *Ægisthus*, could not but be favorable to the administration of justice, and the well-being of the Peloponnesian people.

We find in Homer no mention of a republic, nor is there reported by any other author any tradition that, so early as his age, a government existed in Greece, in which a single person did not preside with the title of king, and with the prerogatives already mentioned as inherent in royalty. Yet, within no long period after him, monarchal rule was almost universally abolished; even the title of King nearly

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II.

lost, and the term Tyrant substituted for it. This would appear a change not easy to account for, had not Homer himself shown the strong tinge of republican principles in the constitution of the little states of Greece, even while princes of acknowledged right were at the head of them. A pointed expression to this purpose in the *Odyssey* may deserve notice: Ulysses, addressing himself as a suppliant to the queen of a strange country on the coast of which he had saved himself from shipwreck, says, ‘ May the gods grant you and your guests to live happily; and may you all transmit to your children your possessions in your houses, and whatsoever HONORS THE PEOPLE HATH GIVEN YOU.’³⁴

While laws were yet unwritten they could be but few and simple; and judicial proceedings, founded upon them, little directed by any just or settled principles for investigation of right and wrong. ‘ The people were assembled in the market-place, when a dispute arose between two men concerning the payment of a fine for man-slaughter.³⁵ One of them, addressing the bystanders, asserted that he had paid the whole; the other insisted that he had received nothing: both were earnest to bring the dispute to a judicial determination. The people grew noisy in favor, some of the one, some of the other: but the heralds interfering enforced silence; and the elders approaching, with sceptres of heralds in their hands, seated themselves on the polished marble benches in the sacred circle. Before them the litigants earnestly stepping forward pleaded by

³⁴ — — — Γέρας θ' ὅτι δῆμος ἔδωκεν. *Odyss.* I. 7. v. 150.

³⁵ Ἀνδρὸς ἀποφθιμένου, which might be either manslaughter, or the very different crime, though similar act, of murder: for Grecian law was yet little nice in distinctions.

‘ turns; while two talents of gold lay in the midst, SECT.
II.
 ‘ to be awarded to him who should support his _____
 ‘ cause by the fairest arguments and the clearest tes-
 ‘ timony.’³⁶ Such is Homer’s account of a court Iliad.
1. 18. v. 497.
—508.
 of justice and a lawsuit. The defendant first en-
 deavoured to engage in his favor the people assembled
 occasionally about their ordinary business. The
 plausibility of his story, and probably some personal
 interest besides, for the amount of the fine proves the
 litigants to have been men of some consequence, pro-
 cured him immediately a party; but not such as to
 prevent his opponent from finding also strong support.
 The voices of the people therefore not being likely
 to determine the business, it was agreed to refer it to

³⁶ In revising this translation some years after it was first made, I found I had unawares differed from the scholiast and from all the most received versions. But I learnt from Pope’s note upon the passage, that the common interpretation, which he has followed, is not undisputed; and his reason given for preferring it I scarcely comprehend. A public reward proposed either for the cunningest pleader, or the cunningest judge, on the decision of every cause, seems nearly an equal absurdity; nor does it appear to me that, consistently with common sense, the two talents of gold can be considered otherwise than as the amount of the fine itself, the very object in litigation. The words of the original perfectly bear that interpretation. My version of the preceding line,

Toῖσιν ἔτειτ' ηὔσσον, ἀμοιβῆδις δ' ἐδίκαξον,

I submit with more doubt to the learned in the language. The spirit of the passage makes me wish that it could be supported, though I cannot undertake myself entirely to defend it.

Pope, in his translation of this passage, and it is but common justice to Homer to mention it, has taken a very unwarrantable liberty; describing the judges in terms of ridicule, when the original authorizes no idea but of dignity. If Pope’s passion for satire had not been irresistible, the respect due to his patron lord Harcourt, whom it appears he consulted upon the passage, should have guarded him against joking so much out of season.

CHAP. II. the council of elders, who assembled instantly and decided summarily. It is observable that in this business no mention is made of a king: and again in another passage of Homer, where the vengeance of Jupiter is denounced against those who give unjust judgments, it is not the tribunal of kings that is spoken of, but the assembly of the people.³⁷

What remains from Hesiod concerning the administration of justice also merits notice. A lawsuit with his brother, in consequence of which he remained deprived of part of his patrimony, has given occasion to much of his poem entitled *Of Works and Days*. The word which we translate King is there only found in the plural, and appears never intended to signify a monarch, but only magistrates or nobles, such as the twelve of Phœacia, or the elders bearing sceptres of heralds in the sacred circle. Against those powerful men, whatever they were, who under that title, in his country of Bœotia, held the administration of justice, the poet inveighs severely: his repeated epithet for them is ‘bribe-devouring kings.’ In his

Hesiod.
Op. & Di.
l. 1. v. 37.
& seq. &
236. & seq.

Hesiod.
Theogon.
v. 96.

Theogony we find a more pleasing picture: ‘The chief of the Muses,’ he there says, ‘attends upon Kings. That King whom the Muses honor, and on whose birth they have looked propitious, on his tongue they pour sweet dew. From his mouth words flow persuasive. All the people look up to him while, pointing out the law, he decides with righteous judgment. Firm in his eloquence, with deep penetration he quickly determines even a violent controversy. For this is the office of wisdom in kings; to repress outrage and injustice, administering equal right to all in the general assembly, and easily appeasing irritated minds with soothing

³⁷ Αὐδόπεις . . . εἰν ἀγορῇ. Iliad. l. 16. v. 386. 387.

‘ words. When such a king walks through the city, SECT.
 ‘ eminent among the assembled people, he is courted III.
 ‘ as a god, with affectionate reverence. Such is the
 ‘ sacred gift of the Muses to men; for poets and
 ‘ musicians are from Apollo and the Muses, but kings
 ‘ are from Jupiter himself.’ It is remarkable that no
 legal power is here ascribed to the people; and yet,
 but for the mention of the title of king, we might
 imagine the description to be of a demagogue in some
 of the subsequent democracies. The whole passage
 forms a striking picture of those middle times, between
 the barbarism when Orpheus governed brutes by
 song, or Amphion built city walls with his lyre, and
 that meridian glory of eloquence and philosophy,
 which ought to have produced a political quiet, un-
 fortunately never found in Greece.

SECTION III.

Science, arts, and commerce among the early Greeks. Letters: language: poetry: music. Husbandry: traffic. Masonry. Manufactures: commerce. Art of war. Navigation. Astronomy. Physic.

We have already observed, as a remarkable circumstance in Grecian history, that its oldest traditional memorials relate, not to war and conquest, generally the only materials of the annals of barbarous ages, but to the invention or introduction of institutions the most indispensable to political society, and of arts even the most necessary to human life. In no country whose history begins at a later period do we find the faintest tradition, even a fable, concerning the first institution of marriage: in Greece it was attributed to Cecrops. In Greece tradition mentions the original production of the olive, the first culture

Justin.
1. 2. c. 6.
Plat. de

Leg. 1. 6.
p. 782.
Pausan.
I. 3. c. 20.

Diod. Sic.
I. 4. c. 83.
Pindar.
Pyth. 9.

Æschyl.
Eumen.

of the vine, and even the first sowing of corn. The first use of mills for grinding corn is also recorded. The knowledge of the cultivation and use of the olive, of the preparation of a lasting food from milk by converting it into cheese, and of the domestication of bees for their honey and wax, was said to have been brought from the banks of the river Triton in Africa by Aristæus: and so important was the information to the wild tribes of hunters who first occupied Greece that Aristæus had the fame of being the son of Apollo, the god of science; the herdsmen and rustic nymphs, among whom he had been educated, were raised in idea to beings above human condition, and he was reported to be himself immortal. The goddess of art, Minerva, according to the oldest Athenian author from whom anything remains to us, though reputed the peculiar patroness of Athens, was born in the same part of Africa whence Aristæus came. Music, poetry, several musical instruments, many sorts of versification, have moreover their inventors named in Grecian tradition. Not to expatiate in the wide field thus opened for inquiry and remark, one inference it may not be alien from the office of history to suggest. Opinions heretofore held by learned men concerning the age of the world, chiefly derived from the Hebrew Scriptures, have lately been treated by some fashionable writers with a degree of ridicule. Whether anything in those Scriptures can authorise any calculation of the years which have passed since the matter which composes our globe has taken nearly its present form, appears at least dubious.³⁸ But if, neglecting the arrogant and exploded absurdity of Egyptian vanity, we form a

³⁸ See Pownall's Treatise on the Study of Antiquities.

judgment from the modest and undesigning traditions of early Greece, from the tenor of the oldest poets, from the researches of Herodotus, Thucydides, Plato, Aristotle, Strabo, even Diodorus Siculus, and in general of the most inquisitive and judicious Grecian prose-writers concerning the early state of nations, all concur, and the latest and best accounts even of Chinese literature go with them,³⁹ strongly to indicate that the centuries since the Flood, or since mankind has existed in its present state, are not likely to have been many more than Sir Isaac Newton has supposed; and all remarkably accord with the Hebrew authors:

We might however perhaps judge with more rational confidence on this subject, if we knew more of the beginning of that art to which we are indebted for all our acquaintance with antiquity. But the investigation of the origin of LETTERS was in vain attempted by the most learned among the ancients, who possessed means not remaining to us. The learned among the Egyptians themselves knew nothing of that gradual rise of the art which in modern times has been sought among the scanty relics of their ancient monuments. They attributed the entire invention to one person, whose name has been variously written, Thoth, Thyoth, Theuth, Athothes, Taautus, and who passed with them for a god.⁴⁰ Among the Assyrians, less given to fable, and who, with many other arts, possessed that of alphabetical writing at a

Shuckford's
Connexion
of Sacred

³⁹ See Gibbon's History of the Roman Empire, c. 26., with the notes 22. 23. 24. 25., and the authorities there quoted.

⁴⁰ Through some analogy, familiar it should seem to the Greeks and Romans, though not now very apparent, the Egyptian god Thoth was often called by the former Hermes, by the latter Mercurius.

and Profane History. period far beyond connected history, no tradition appears to have remained by whom it was invented, or whence it came: and it is a remarkable circumstance that, while many both Greek and Roman writers ascribe the invention to the Syrians or Phenicians, the earliest occasion upon which history or tradition mentions the Use of Letters was the Delivery of the Decalogue to the people of Israel. Nevertheless the failure of all notice in the sacred book that it was then a novelty, seems powerful indication that it was not so. Nothing then appears to me so probable as that it was derived from the antediluvian world; lost everywhere in migration from the want of convenient materials for its use; but preserved in Chaldæa, and hence communicated to Egypt and other countries as they acquired a settled government. The supposition of some, that hieroglyphical writing preceded and led to alphabetical, rests on mere conjecture. Homer's *γράμματα λυγρὰ** may have been picture-writing learnt from Egypt; but nothing remains to mark when alphabetical writing was not known in Chaldæa, and in Egypt also. Picture-writing would represent matters to those who could not read; and might have been useful in the earlier times of modern Europe, when the noble signed by their seals, and none could read but the clergy.

But though doubt yet hangs about the origin of this inestimable art, and some may still be inclined to suppose with Diodorus, or with Pliny,⁴¹ that it was of Asiatic birth, and others to believe with Plato that it was invented in Egypt, and still others to doubt of both; yet from that very remote age in which it is

[* *σήματα λυγρὰ* are the words of Homer, Il. ζ. 168.]

⁴¹ Hist. Nat. l. 7. c. 56.

known to have been used for the purpose of recording the divine law we can trace the history of its progress westward with some certainty. According to the report most generally received among the Greeks, letters were first introduced into their country by a colony of Orientals, who founded Thebes in Bœotia; and the very near resemblance of the first Greek alphabet to the Phenician indeed sufficiently testifies whence it came.⁴² The name of Cadmus, by which the leader of the colony became known to posterity, signified, it has been observed, in the Phenician language, an eastern man: and, till the overwhelming irruption of Bœotians from Thessaly, about sixty years (according to Thucydides) after the Trojan war, the country was called Cadmeis, and the people Cadmeans.⁴³

⁴² ‘Concors pene omnium scriptorum opinio est, Græcas a Phœnicibus literas esse mutuatas, & ante Cadmi ætatem nullas apud Græcos extitisse literas.—Ære perennius documentum superest vel ex nominibus literarum, quæ in utrâque lingua, Phœniciâ videlicet & Græcâ, eadem prorsus sunt.’ Montfaucon Palæograph. Græc. l. 2. c. 1.

⁴³ Καδμεῖοι is the common name for the inhabitants of Bœotia with Homer and Hesiod,* as well as with Æschylus, Euripides, and Sophocles. But this name seems not to have been confined to those Orientals who settled in that province. Herodotus † speaks of Cadmeans who expelled the Dorians from Histiaëotis in Thessaly. History is not without other examples of national names arising in the same manner; among which that of the Normans is remarkable, and in every point analogous to that of the Cadmeans: losing, in their settlement in France, both the name and the language of their original country, their new name of Normans was an appellation descriptive of the relative situation of their old country to their new, in words of the lost language. Homer has used the Cadmean name in two [three] places with a different termination, Καδμείωνας; ‡ and it has

* Iliad. l. 4. v. 388. & 391. & Odyss. l. 11. v. 275. Scut. Herc. v. 13.

† Herod. l. 1. c. 56.

‡ Iliad. l. 4. v. 385. & l. 23. v. 680. [ε. 804.]

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Plat. Philo-
lebus, p. 19.
t. 2. &
Phædrus,
p. 274. t. 3.
ed. Serr.

Sharpe
on the
Origin of
Languages.

Thucyd.
l. 1. c. 12

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II. But we find strong reason to suppose that, in the early ages, the difference of language over Asia, Africa, and Europe, as far as their inhabitants of those ages are known to us, was but a difference of dialect; and that the people of Greece, Phenicia, and Egypt mutually understood each other.⁴⁴ Nor does any circumstance in the history of the Grecian

been observed that, thus written, it bears a very near resemblance to the name of a people of Canaan mentioned in the book of Joshua to have been expelled by the Israelites. Upon a mere resemblance of the orthography of names however little or nothing can be founded. Similar changes of termination are common with Homer for the purposes of variety and metre only.

⁴⁴ The affinity of the early languages of Asia, Africa, and Europe has been noticed by Sharpe on the Origin of Languages, Monboddo on the Origin of Language, Pownall on the Study of Antiquities, and Volney in the Narrative of his Travels in Egypt and Syria, before the first publication of this volume. Sir William Jones's works on the subject will now more engage the attention of the curious. Referring however to all these, I will just further observe here that the Greek and Latin languages are of acknowledged oriental origin; that the Teutonic dialects, notwithstanding their coarseness, have a manifest affinity with the Greek and Latin; that the Celtic have in many characteristical circumstances a close analogy to the Hebrew, and its allied oriental tongues.* In the Welsh, the want of a present tense in the verbs, the having often the third person singular of the past tense for the root, and the use of affixed pronouns and particles are remarkable. Its particular resemblance to the Arabic in its innumerable forms for plurals of nouns is also remarkable. Whence arose the strong characteristical differences which distinguish the Greek and Latin from their parent languages of the east; and how, among the western nations, the Celtic, the most westerly, held the oriental character, while the Persian, eastward among the Orientals, acquired a middle character between the more westerly Asiatic and the Greek; are problems which may still excite curiosity.

* Vallancy's Essay on the Antiquity of the Irish Language, and his Grammar of the Iberno-Celtic.

people appear more difficult to account for, even in conjecture, than the superiority of form and polish which their speech acquired, in an age beyond tradition, and in circumstances apparently most unfavorable. For it was amid continual migrations, expulsions, mixtures of various hordes, and revolutions of every kind, the most unquestionable circumstances of early Grecian history, that was formed that language, so simple in its analogy, of such complex art in its composition and inflexion, of such clearness, force, and elegance in its contexture, and of such singular sweetness, variety, harmony, and majesty in its sound. Already in the time of Homer and Hesiod, who lived long before writing was common, we find it in full possession of these perfections; and we learn on no less authority than that of Plato, that still in his time the diction of Thamyras and Orpheus, supposed to have lived long before Homer, was singularly pleasing.

*Plat. de Leg. l. 8.
p. 829. t. 2.*

The history of Grecian LETTERS lies more open to investigation. Manners and customs have remained in the East remarkably unvaried through all ages; and language has been, in the same countries, proportionally permanent. The Syriac and Arabic to this day bear a close affinity to the Hebrew even of the Pentateuch. Through the Arabic therefore, the Syriac, Samaritan, Chaldee, and Hebrew we have means of tracing one language almost to the dispersion at Babel. In all these dialects we find orthography has been always very imperfect. Whether the ancient Orientals used any characters to express vowels,⁴⁵ has been contested. Certain it is that the

⁴⁵ Mascler's account of the Hebrew alphabet I prefer to any that I have seen. The author seems to have been well ac-

CHAP. modern Arabs, with twenty-eight letters in their
II. alphabet, acknowledge none for vowels; and that the Persians, with a very different language, adopting the Arabic alphabet, have added some consonants wanting for their pronunciation, and only consonants. It should seem, from these circumstances, that oriental pronunciation and oriental orthography have been settled by organs and perceptions not very elegant and discerning. Consonants indeed have been distinguished with some accuracy each by its proper letter: for consonant sounds are mostly so separated by their nature, and so incapable of being blended, that the dullest ear easily discriminates them. But it is not so with the liquid sound of vowels. Inaccurate organs of pronunciation will confound, and inaccurate organs of hearing will mistake, especially in hasty utterance, those which, deliberately spoken by a good voice, appear to a discerning ear strongly distinguished. The Orientals therefore, in committing language to writing, expressed vowels in those syllables only where the vowel-sound, whether through length or accent, was more particularly marked by the voice, leaving it in others to be supplied by the reader's knowledge of the word. Thus in all the acquainted with the general character of eastern pronunciation, and with the analogy between pronunciation and orthography in the eastern languages. Dr. Gregory Sharpe, who has followed, with a view to improve upon him, evidently knowing little of any language but his own, except through books, yet bold enough magisterially to contradict those who had means which he could not have, has labored to form a system upon the very mistaken supposition that elementary sounds are, in the pronunciation of all people, the same. For supplying the deficient vowels, Sharpe's proposal is preferable to Masclef's, because more simple; the quality which alone can make the merit of either, being both equally unfounded on any authority.—For the Arabic alphabet I follow Richardson's Grammar.

eastern dialects, ancient and modern, we find numberless words, and some of many syllables, without a single vowel written. It seems however to be admitted that three of the Arabic letters were originally vowels;⁴⁶ and there remains apparently ample proof that at least the three corresponding Hebrew letters were also vowels.⁴⁷ But neither in the Arabic nor Persian (which would appear to us more extraordinary if the same abuse was not familiar in our own language) is the letter written a guide to be relied upon for the vowel to be pronounced. Hence it seems to have been that, in all the oriental languages, those

⁴⁶ Among many proofs that some of the Arabic letters were originally true vowels, the older Persic writings in the Arabic character appear strong; for in them, we are told, every syllable had its vowel.* The pronunciation of the Persic is more delicate, and its form more perfect than those of the western Asiatic tongues, and in both it approaches nearer to the Greek.

⁴⁷ Quas veteres Hebræi Matres Lectionis vocârunt.† If any letter of the Hebrew alphabet was a vowel, ♀ would be such; and we have the express testimony of Josephus to three more; Ταῦτα δέ ἔστι φωνήεντα τέσσαρα.‡ The Arabic letters also, Alif, Waw, Ya, corresponding to the Hebrew which we call Alef, Vau or Waw, Jod, the Matres Lectionis, if they are not vowels, are nothing; for it is comparatively seldom that Waw and Ya are sounded like our v and j consonants. Beside these, the letters Ain and He corresponding to the Hebrew letters of the same names, are, one always, the other sometimes, vowels. But these five vowel-letters are very irregularly applied to the expression of vowel-sounds; or to speak familiarly to English ears, words in the Arabic continually, and in the Persian often, are not to be pronounced as they are spelt, but in a manner widely different. Moreover, though there are five letters in the Arabic alphabet really vowels, yet only three vowel-sounds can be discriminated by them; for the letters Ain and He seem to have no vowel-powers that are not also possessed by other letters.

* See Richardson's Dissertation on Eastern Languages, p. 236. of 2d. edit.

† Mascl. Gram. Heb. c. 1. Num. 2. ‡ De Bell. Jud. l. 6. 3. 15.

CHAP. II. letters have ceased to support their reputation of vowels; and hence the comparatively modern resource of points, which, without removing the vowel-letters from their orthographical station, entirely supersede them in the office of directing the voice.⁴⁸

Newton's
Chronology,
p. 13.

I have been induced to enter the more minutely, I fear tediously for some readers, into this detail, because we seem hence to acquire considerable light on some circumstances, otherwise unaccountable, in so curious and interesting a part of the history of

⁴⁸ It seems to be now agreed among the learned, that the vowel-points of the Arabs and Persians were unknown till after the age of Mahomet, and that the Hebrew points were imitated from them. The idea of using points to represent vowels appears to have been suggested by the Greek marks of accent. For when the Greek, through the Macedonian conquests, and still more through the Roman, became a universal language, marks invented and first used in the Alexandrine school came into general use, to direct all nations to the proper accentuation. In our own language, and in the Italian and Spanish, the useful practice has been followed, and indeed is now deemed indispensable, in grammars and dictionaries. But when the Arabic, by the conquests of the Califs, became scarcely less extended than the Greek had been, and its men of learning, in the leisure of peace and under the patronage of munificent princes, applied themselves diligently to the study of Grecian literature, the inconveniences of their own orthography would, particularly upon comparison, appear glaring. To remedy therefore the utter discord between their vowel-letters written and vowel-sounds pronounced, and to remove the uncertainty of those syllables where custom had established that no vowel should be written, they took the Grecian marks of accent and aspiration, and with some alterations and additions applied them to represent the sound of vowels, and to supply other defects of their established orthography. Thus the French use the Greek marks of accent to discriminate the different sounds of the letter *e*, and to point out the omission of an orthographical *s*. Nevertheless the new marks for vowels being only three are very unequal to their purpose; and they have moreover never obtained general use either in Arabic or Persian writing.

mankind as the history of Grecian literature. The Newton's
lowest date assigned to the arrival of Cadmus in Chrono-
Greece is one thousand and forty-five years before
Christ. Homer florished not less than two hundred
years after him. It has been doubted whether Homer
could write or read; and the arguments adduced for
the negative, in Wood's *Essay on the Original Genius*
of Homer, seem scarcely controvertible. The earliest Plin. Nat.
Grecian prose-writers known to the ancients them- Hist.
selves were Pherecydes of Scyrus and Cadmus of 1. 5. c. 29. &
Miletus, mentioned by Pliny to have lived during 1. 7. c. 56.
the reign of Cyrus king of Persia, and at least two Joseph.
hundred and fifty years after Homer. No Grecian cont. Apion.
state had its laws put in writing till about the same 1. 1. c. 2.
period, when Draco was archon at Athens, and Za- Strabo,
leucus lawgiver of the Epizephyrian Locrians.⁴⁹ The 1. 6. p. 259.
earliest Grecian prose-writers, whose works had any Herodot.
considerable reputation with posterity, were Heca- 1. 2. c. 143.
taeus of Miletus, and Pherecydes of Athens, who 1. 5. c. 125. &
were about half a century later. The interval there- 1. 6. c. 137.
fore between the supposed introduction of letters and Strabo,
any familiar use of them was, by the most moderate 1. 1. p. 18.
computation, between four and five hundred years. & al.
Dionys.
Hal. Ant.
Rom. 1. 1.

Extraordinary as this very slow progress of so highly useful an art, among so ingenious and so informed a people, may on first view appear, circumstances are known which may amply account for it.

⁴⁹ If any should be inclined to suppose that what Plato says of the laws of Minos king of Crete* being engraved on brazen tablets, for the use of his itinerant chief-justice Talus, was meant to be seriously taken as reported on historical authority, (of which it does not however bear the least appearance,) still the testimonies of Josephus and Strabo, so nearly concurring, should be decisive for the rest of Greece.

CHAP. II. The want of convenient and cheap materials for writing might almost alone suffice. The practice of the art was necessarily confined within very narrow limits, while, instead of the pen flowing on that cheap, commodious, and lasting material, paper, the graver was to be employed on plates of brass, or the chisel on blocks of marble. But to this must be added the consideration that the oriental characters, when first introduced into Greece, would not be readily applicable to Grecian speech. The oriental dialects appear always to have had, as they still have, harsh sounds unutterable by the Greeks,⁵⁰ and characters to express them of course useless to the Greeks; while Grecian speech had sounds not to be expressed by any oriental character.⁵¹ The invention therefore of new letters, or

⁵⁰ ‘Quas aures nostræ penitus reformidant,’ as it is observed by Jerom,* and Grecian ears were still more fastidious than the Roman. Even Josephus, though himself a Jew, and zealous for the honor of his nation, confesses that he dared not attempt to express the harshness of Hebrew names in Greek writing

⁵¹ Analogous circumstances, if we only look to the nations immediately surrounding us, are within our ready observation. We have no characters to express the sounds of the French *J*, or *U*, or final *N*; nor is the pronunciation of the two latter easily acquired, unless in early years, by either an English or an Italian voice. The Spanish gutturals *G*, *J*, *X* are equally strange to us. Of the whole utterance of the Dutch and German languages, though so nearly related to our own, we may say with Jerom, ‘Aures nostræ penitus reformidant.’ On the other hand, our vowel *I* is peculiar to ourselves; our sound of *CH*, familiar to the Spaniards and Italians, is unutterable to the French; and our two sounds of *TH*, familiar to the Greeks at the farther corner of Europe, who express them by their σ and δ , are unknown, and scarcely to be pronounced by any other European people. If then England was at this day without letters, and an alphabet was acquired from the French, our nearest neighbours, from whom a large proportion of our language has

* Hieronym. de Locis Hebraicis, voce Ramasses.

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at least the invention of a new application of the old, would be indispensable: works which, if quickly completed, would still be long in gaining the necessary authority of popular use, in a half-polished nation, wanting commodious materials, and divided into independent states unnumbered. Nor do these circumstances rest upon surmise. We have a plain account of them in Herodotus, which bears in itself every appearance of being well-founded; and, assisted by what we know of oriental orthography, and what we learn from ancient Greek inscriptions on marbles yet existing, becomes in every part intelligible and almost circumstantial. The Cadmeans, that author ^{Herodot.}
_{l. 5. c. 59.} says, at first used letters exactly after the Phenician manner. But in process of time their language receiving alterations, they changed also the power of some of their letters. Examples of Cadmean letters thus accommodated to Grecian speech were remaining in the historian's time: who affirms that he saw them on some tripods in the temple of Apollo Ismenius at Thebes, the inscriptions on which he has transmitted to us. In this state letters passed, he continues, to the Ionian Greeks of Attica, and other neighbouring provinces. By these some farther alterations were made; but the letters, he says, were still called Phenician. The principal additions which the melodious sounds and accurate harmony of the Greek

been borrowed, it would not be the business of a moment to apply that alphabet to our purpose. How should we express our *TH*, our *CH*, our *I*, and *J*, and our diphthong *OU*? While hesitating about these, we should find the French *U* superfluous—we have no such sound in our language—and, puzzled by their nasal utterance of the final *M* and *N*, so strange and so disagreeable to an English ear, we should be at a loss to assign to those characters their proper office.

CHAP. II. language required, were to the vowels. No syllable was suffered to be without its vowel written. Yet all the nice discriminations of vowel-sounds in the voice, even of those essential to the harmony of the language, were not at last expressed by written characters; though in the end, instead of three discriminating vowel-letters probably received from the East, the Greeks used seven vowel-letters of different powers, beside many combinations of vowels, called diphthongs, which, whatever composition of sound may be supposed in them, were so far simple sounds that each could contribute to the formation of but a single syllable. From the Greek was derived the Latin orthography, and thence that of all western Europe; among which the English, being the most irregular and imperfect, approaches nearest in character to the oriental.⁵²

⁵² The vowels of the earliest Greek alphabet have been supposed only four, A, E, I, O, though Y is said to be found among the oldest extant inscriptions. The gradual additions have been traced in inscriptions, and their history has been confirmed from passages of Greek and Roman authors.* The invention or introduction of particular letters by Palamedes, Simonides, and others to whom it has been attributed, is not ascertained on any authority.† The vowels of the ancient Etruscan alphabet were only four, A, E, I, U.‡ But the Greek O, and the Etruscan U, like the Hebrew י in the time of Jerom, and the Arabic and Persian ئ, at this day, were originally used both for the simple sound of O, and for that which was afterwards distinguished by the diphthong OY; which had probably also a simple sound only, as it has now in the modern Greek, like the French *ou*, the English *oo*, and the Italian *u*. Hence also it appears probable, that the Greek termination *os* and the Latin *us* had nearly the same enunciation; and hence perhaps, rather than from any intended preference of the Latin ablative, the Italians, in

* See Shuckford's Connexion, b. 4.

† Montfaucon. Palaeograph. Græc. l. 2. c. 1.

‡ Gor. Mus. Etrusc. Prolegom. p. 48. & t. 2. p. 405.

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But during the centuries while the Grecian alphabet was thus receiving its form some very remarkable changes took place also in the method of writing; partly perhaps in consequence of the delay in establishing the alphabet, and itself no doubt a hindrance to the progress of letters among the Grecian people. It seems not questionable that on the first introduction of letters into Greece the oriental manner of arranging them obtained, from the right toward the left. Afterward the practice arose of forming the lines alternately from right to left, and from left to right; and then it became customary to begin from the left, and return in the second line to the left again. At length about the time of the Persian invasion, several centuries after Cadmus, this alternate arrangement was finally disused, and the Greeks wrote only from the left toward the right. In this practice they have been followed by all the European nations, while the orientals still hold the original

Astle on the
Origin and
Progress of
Writing,
c. 5.

dropping the *s*, have been led to substitute *o* for the Latin *u*. If the orthography of our own language was not almost too irregular for example, we might produce many words in which *o* has the sound of *u*; but it deserves observation that our usual short sound of *u*, which is peculiar to ourselves, resembles so nearly the Italian short sound of *o*, that the Italians, and also the French, use the letter *o* to express it. The Greek *v* we know for certain to have had a very different sound from the Latin *u*, the long sound of which was in Greek represented by the diphthong *ov*, and the short by the vowel *o*. The modern Greeks also represent by their diphthong *ov* the Italian vowel *u*, and our *oo*. The modern Greek *v*, the Italian *u*, the French *u*, and the English *u*, have all different powers. What precisely was the power of the ancient Greek *v* we cannot certainly know: but strong national partiality only, and determined habit, could lead to the imagination cherished by some French critics, to whom otherwise Grecian literature has high obligation, that it was a sound so unpleasant, produced by a position of the lips so ungraceful, as the French *u*.

CHAP. II. method of arranging their characters from the right toward the left. The people of the Grecian settlements in Sicily and the south of Italy, holding correspondence always with the country of their forefathers, used the same alphabet and orthography with only accidental varieties. But among those who established themselves in Latium and Tuscany, farther from the parent stock, greater differences arose; giving a distinct character to the Latin alphabet, which has been to this day nearly retained by all the western nations of Europe. Yet, before the Roman conquests had given prevalence to Roman letters among foreign nations, the Grecian, as Cæsar assures us, were used in distant Britain. Some learned men, looking to the wide extent of barbarian continent between Britain and Greece, have supposed the word GREEK, found in the transmitted copies of Cæsar's commentaries, to have been an interpolation. But seas and rivers, and the commerce for which they afford facility, connect distant nations. Those who will look at Diodorus's probable account of the course of the tin trade in the age of Augustus, and the information of Strabo that it was in the hands of the Greeks of Marseilles, successors in that trade to the Carthaginians, who had supplanted the Phenicians, will have no difficulty to conceive how Grecian letters may have been communicated to Britain, so as to be in use for commercial purposes long before Julius Cæsar invaded our island; though, being forbidden by the Druids for all that concerned religion, they were little likely to be much known beyond the maritime parts with which the Greeks communicated.

After the general excellence of the Greek language, the perfection which its POETRY attained, at an era beyond almost all memorials except what that

poetry itself has preserved, becomes an object of high SECT.
III. curiosity. Ignorance of letters, and for those to whom they may have been known, the want of means for ready use of them, gave poetry its consequence in the early ages. To assist memory was perhaps the original purpose for which verse was invented: certainly it was among its most important uses. How necessary even such precarious assistance was, and how totally the surer help of letters was wanting, we may judge from the difficulty which Homer ascribes Iliad. I. 2.
v. 484.
Hesiod. to the exact recital of a catalogue of names. Hence Memory was deified; hence the Muses were called Theogon.
v. 52. & her immediate offspring. For this also, among other 915. causes, poetry has in all countries preceded regular prose composition. Laws were among the early Greeks always promulgated in verse, and often publicly sung; a practice which remained in some places long after letters were become common:⁵³ morality was taught, history was delivered in verse: lawgivers, philosophers, historians, all who would apply their experience or their genius to the instruction or amusement of others, were necessarily poets. The character of poet was therefore a character of dignity: an opinion even of sacredness became attached to it; a poetical genius was esteemed an effect of divine inspiration, and a mark of divine favor:⁵⁴ and, as in our own country formerly, the poet, who carried with him

⁵³ Πρὸιν ἐπίστασθαι γράμματα ἥδον τοὺς νόμους, ὅπως μὴ ἐπιλάθωνται· ὁσπερ ἐν Ἀγαθύρσοις ἔτι εἰώθασι. Aristot. Probl. sect. 19. art. 28. Strabo informs us * that even in his time Νομῳδὸς, LAW-SINGER, was the title of a principal magistrate at Mazaca in Cappadocia, where the code of the Sicilian legislator Charondas was the established law.

⁵⁴ Αὐτοδίδακτος δ' εἰμι· θεὸς δέ μοι ἐν φρεσὶν οἴμας
Παντοῖας ἐνέφυσεν.

says the bard Phemius.

Odyss. 1. 22. v. 347.

* B. 12. p. 539.

CHAP. II. instruction and entertainment no way to be obtained without him, was a privileged person enjoying by a kind of prescription the rights of universal hospitality.⁵⁵

⁵⁵ According to all traditions, it was before Homer's time that letters were communicated from Phenicia to Greece; yet, upon the supposition that their use was familiarly known to him, it would be extremely difficult to account for the importance which he attributes to memory, and his total silence about so invaluable an assistant to it. The presumption that Homer wrote, or that his poems were written for him under his direction, is supported merely by the argument of necessity, the imagined impossibility that works like his could be composed amid the helpless ignorance of a people without letters, or that they could be preserved, even supposing them so composed. Dr. Johnson, whose days were passed in a closet, who knew nothing but by the instrumentality of letters, and could communicate his knowledge only by his pen and ink, had full faith in that impossibility, and sovereign contempt for such a people. But Plato, who had been accustomed to constant and extensive communication among men, in an age when letters were well known, but the common use of them still recent, and who had himself learnt the philosophy of Socrates without their assistance, certainly thought very differently on the subject: * and I am much more disposed, in regard to such a matter, to defer to the authority of Plato than of Dr. Johnson.

With regard to the *γράμματα* [*σήματα λυγρὰ* are the words in Homer, Il. ζ. 168. and are so quoted by Wood in his Essay on Homer, p. 152. ed. 1824.] before alluded to, which the poet tells us were sent by Bellerophon from Corinth into Lycia, supposing Wood wrong in holding it to have been a picture rather than a letter, and that it was already usual in Homer's age to write on tablets of board covered with wax, which we know was the way in which the Greeks managed epistolary correspondence some centuries after him; it would still remain to be shown how volumes like the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* could be preserved in writing. For myself, I will own that I believe Wood right in his explanation of the *γράμματα*. The word *γράμμα* is used for picture by Plato † and by Theocritus,‡ and possibly by other writers; and this sense of the word has been noticed by Scapula, yet has escaped both Schrevelius and Hederic.

* P. 275. v. 3.

† De Repub. l. 5. p. 472.

‡ Idyll. 15. v. 81.

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With poetry in all known countries MUSIC has had intimate connexion: everywhere indeed in early ages they seem to have been esteemed inseparable; excepting only as music was adapted to direct dancing, or measured motions of the body, equally with poetry or a measured arrangement of sounds in speech. In the extant works attributed to Homer the recitation even of history is mentioned as always accompanied by a musical instrument; history, through failure of writing, being, for the assistance of memory, commonly delivered in verse. Hardly any nation has been found so barbarous as to be wholly without poetry and music. To their union as well as their cultivation in our own country, when in a very barbarous as well as distracted state, full testimony remains. It is indeed a curious coincidence that in so widely distant an age, and in so widely distant a country, the inseparability of poetry from music appears to have been, in the days of our great Alfred,⁵⁶ the same in England as in early Greece.

In Homer's time we find both stringed⁵⁷ and wind instruments familiar. Both kinds were used to accompany the voice. No ancient music having been transmitted in notes now intelligible, its character can be gathered only from the evidence of airs handed down by memory from unknown times, from reports by respectable writers, living when it flourished, of the gratification it afforded and the emotions it excited, and from the measures which its connexion

⁵⁶ That great monarch in his translation of Boethius has rendered the single Latin word *cantare* by the phrase ‘be harpan ‘ singan,’—*sing to the harp*; a remark which I owe to Bishop Percy, in his Collection of ancient English Poetry.

⁵⁷ The strings were, like those now used, of the guts of sheep twisted, as we are informed by Homer in the *Odyssey*, l. 21. v. 408.

CHAP. II. with ancient poetry required. The two former are very uncertain : the latter, however strange it may seem to modern ears, is assured by what remains on the subject from ancient writers, especially Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Quintilian. Some modern learned, skilled in music, have treated not without scorn accounts from the ancients of the excellence altogether, but especially of the pathetic effect, of their music. That the earlier music was simple, may be well believed. For song to be understood on any subject, but especially in giving history to numerous auditors, the music must be very simple. Not only however is the simplest music found generally the most highly and extensively pleasing, but the most affecting music generally is most simple. It appears to me then, I will own, not a little presumptuous to contest with Plato the high and even extraordinary excellence which he⁵⁸ has attributed to that very early music of Lesser Asia, whence the Greeks gained theirs ; especially as Aristotle, generally enough disposed to differ from his master, on this subject coincides with and confirms him.⁵⁹ Indeed that a people, whose language was the most harmonious perhaps ever spoken among men, who were remarked for being even fastidiously delicate in their sense of the sounds of speech, whose verse, even in the complete metamorphosis which its measure and mechanism undergo in modern pronunciation, still as by a kind of magic pleases universally—that such a people could have admired or could have tolerated a coarse or inelegant music, and such a music in association with the poetry of such a language, seems altogether incredible.

⁵⁸ See note 38. sect. 4. chap. 1. of this History.

⁵⁹ Ολύμπου μέλη ὁμολογουμένως ποιεῖ τὰς ψυχὰς ἐνθουσιασικάς. Aristot. Polit. 1. 4.

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Not in poetry and music only, but, considering the imperfection of civil government, and the consequent insecurity of property, in many arts conducive to convenience and elegance of living had greater advances been already made in Homer's time than might have been expected. AGRICULTURE in various branches appears to have been managed with great regularity. It is remarked by Cicero that Hesiod, in his poem ^{De Senectute.} on husbandry, makes no mention of manure: but Homer expressly speaks of dunging land, as well as ^{Odyss.} of ploughing, sowing, reaping corn, and mowing grass. ^{1. 17. v. 299.} The culture of the vine also was well understood, and the making of wine carried through the different processes with much attention and knowledge. This is evident from various circumstances mentioned by Homer, and particularly from the age to which wines ^{Odyss. 1. 2.} were kept: Nestor at a sacrifice produced some eleven ^{v. 340. &} years old. Oil from the olive was in use: but the culture of the tree appears not to have been extensive. ^{1. 9. v. 205.} In Alcinous's garden the vineyard is a principal ^{Odyss. 1. 7. v. 112.} feature by itself; but the olive is only found in the orchard, with the apple, the pear, the pomegranate, and the fig.⁶⁰ Pasturage has generally pre-

⁶⁰ Though the interpreters of the Greek and Latin languages find in nothing more frequent and more insuperable difficulties than in the names of plants, yet the fruits mentioned by Homer as the produce of Alcinous's garden seem certainly to have been those which we know by the names of Apple, Pear, Pomegranate, and Fig. Cousin Despréaux, in his History of Greece, has interpreted Μῆλα to signify Oranges: but the Orange, with many other of the more delicate fruits of Asia, was, evidently enough, unknown, or at least unproduced, in Greece for ages after Homer. The Apple is still common there, and still called Μῆλον; and all the other ordinary fruits preserve their ancient names: Σῦκον is still a Fig, Ἐλαιά an Olive, Κάσαρον a Chesnut; and, with very little alteration of the old words, 'Póδι

CHAP. II. ceded tillage, and herds and flocks constituted the principal riches of Homer's time. Cattle, in the scarcity, or perhaps non-existence, of coin, were the most usual measure of the value of commodities. The golden armour of Glaucus, we are told, was worth a hundred oxen; the brazen armour of Diomed nine: Iliad. l. 6. v. 236. the tripod, the first prize for wrestling at the funeral of Patroclus, was valued at twelve oxen; the female slave, the second prize, at four. When Eumæus in Odys. l. 14. v. 100. the Odyssey would convey an idea of the opulence of Ulysses, he tells neither of the extent of his lands, nor the quantity of his moveables, but of his herds and flocks only. But commerce seems to have been Iliad. l. 7. v. 467. carried on entirely by exchange. In the Iliad we have a description of a supply of wine brought by sea to the Grecian camp, where it was bought by some, says the poet, with brass, by some with iron, by some with hides, by some with cattle, by some with slaves.

The art of MASONRY appears to have been not mean in Homer's time. The opulent had houses of stone, (Homer calls it polished stone, perhaps meaning only squared and well-wrought stone,) with numerous and spacious apartments for state as well as for convenience: and it was with no small state that they were waited upon in them by numerous at-

Odys. l. 10. v. 211. and 'Ροΐδι a Pomegranate, 'Απίδι a Pear, Σταφύλι a Grape, 'Αμπέλι a Vine, Κεράσι a Cherry, Πεπώνι a Melon; but an Orange is Ναράντζι. When the Orange became known to the ancient Greeks and Romans, it was, like the Peach, Apricot, and others, called indeed Μῆλον, Malum, but with a distinguishing epithet derived from the country whence it was imported, Μῆλον Μυδικὸν, or sometimes, from its rich color, Μῆλον χρυσοῦν.

Barthelemy (quoting for authority Antiphon as cited by Athenæus, b. 3. c. 7. p. 84.) says that the citron was imported from Persia into Greece a little after the Peloponnesian war. Anacharsis, c. 59.

tendants. A late ingenious and learned author has Sir Ed. remarked that bathing, always a favorite article of Barry, on the wines of the Ancients. eastern luxury, was in Homer's time carried to a high pitch of convenience, and even of elegance; and that it declined after him, and remained in a ruder state till it was restored, some centuries after, by Hippocrates, for medicinal purposes. It is indeed probable that luxury and arts declined generally after Homer's age, and from more than one cause. For the present however it may suffice to observe, that when Greece raised those sumptuous public buildings which, for elegance of taste and excellence of workmanship, the most informed and refined of other nations have ever since studied and never yet equalled, the private dwellings appear to have been scarcely in anything superior to those of Homer's time.

Nevertheless Homer, as we have already remarked, claims nothing of that superiority in art or science for his fellow-countrymen which they afterward so justly made their boast. On the contrary, he ascribes to Phenicia preeminence in the arts, and to Egypt in riches and population. Ornamental works in metals, in ivory, in wool, we find were not uncommon in Greece in his time: the art of gilding silver, or perhaps rather of plating silver with gold, was already known; and the same art of dying crimson, which became so highly esteemed in the times of luxury and refinement among both Greeks and Romans, appears to have had its origin before Homer.⁶¹ We have in the Odyssey the following list of presents to a lady: ' a tunic, Odys. 1. 18. v. 291. ' large, beautiful, variegated; twelve golden hooks ' were on it, nicely fitted to well-bent eyes; a golden ' necklace of elegant workmanship, set with amber,

⁶¹ The expression ἀλιπόρφυρα (Odyss. l. 6. v. 53.) seems to warrant this opinion.

CHAP. II. ‘and highly splendid; a pair of three-drop ear-rings ‘exquisitely brilliant:’ another ornament for the neck is added, for which we want a name. It rather appears however that these admired works of art were not the produce of Greece. In another place Homer describes a merchant offering to sale a golden necklace set with amber; but that merchant was a Phenician: a silver bowl is described excelling all that ever was seen; ‘for,’ adds the poet, ‘Sidonian artists ‘made it, and Phenicians brought it over the sea;’ and when Hecuba was particularly anxious to make an acceptable offering to Minerva, she selected a veil from her store of the works of Sidonian women. It 1. 6. v. 289. seems indeed to have been a regular part of the Phenician commerce to send toys for ventures to the Grecian ports.⁶² Handicraft arts were not yet become trades in Greece; even princes exercising them for themselves. Ulysses not only in his distress was a skilful boatbuilder, but in the height of opulence made his own bedstead, adorning it with gold, silver, and ivory.

Herodot. 1. 1. c. 1.

Plutarch. vit. Solon. init. Odys. 1. 3. v. 71. & 1. 8.

COMMERCE in the Homeric age appears to have been principally in the hands of the Phenicians. The carrying trade of the Mediterranean was early theirs, and Sidon was the great seat of manufacture. The Greeks were not without traffic carried on by sea among themselves; but the profession of merchant had evidently not in Homer’s time that honorable estimation which yet, according to Plutarch, it acquired at an early period in Greece. While it was thought not unbecoming a prince to be a carpenter to supply his own wants or luxuries, to be a merchant for gain was

⁶² . . . Φοίνικες ναυσίκλυτοι ἤλυθον ἀνδρες
Τρῶκται, μισῷ ἄγοντες ἀθέρματα νηὶ μελαῖνη.

Odyss. 1. 15. v. 414.

held but as a mean employment: a pirate was a more v. 161.
respected character. Thueyd.

l. i. c. 5.

The ART of WAR is among the arts of necessity, which all people, the rudest equally and the most polished, must cultivate, or ruin will follow the neglect. The circumstances of Greece were in some respects peculiarly favorable to the improvement of this art. Divided into little states, the capital of each, with the greater part of the territory, generally within a day's march of several neighbouring states, which might be enemies, and seldom were thoroughly to be trusted as friends, while from the establishment of slavery arose everywhere perpetual danger of a domestic foe, it was of peculiar necessity both for every individual to be a soldier, and for the community to pay unremitting attention to military affairs. Accordingly we find that so early as Homer's time the Greeks had improved considerably upon that tumultuary warfare alone known to many barbarous nations, who yet have prided themselves in the practice of war for successive centuries. Several terms used by the poet, together with his descriptions of marches, indicate that orders of battle were in his time regularly formed in rank and file. Steadiness in the soldier, that foundation of all those powers which distinguish an army from a mob, and which to this day forms the highest praise of the best troops, we find in great perfection in the Iliad. 'The Grecian Iliad.
' phalanges,' says the poet, 'marched in close order,
' the leaders directing each his own band. The rest
' were mute: insomuch that you would say in so
' great a multitude there was no voice. Such was
' the silence with which they respectfully watched
' for the word of command from their officers.'

Considering the deficiency of iron, the Grecian

CHAP. II. troops appear to have been very well armed both for offence and defence. Their defensive armour consisted of a helmet, a breastplate, and greaves, all of brass, and a shield, commonly of bull's hide, but often strengthened with brass. The breastplate appears to have met the belt, which was a considerable defence to the belly and groin, and with an appendant skirt guarded also the thighs. All together covered the forepart of the soldier from the throat to the ankle: and the shield was a superadded protection for every part. The bulk of the Grecian troops were infantry thus heavily armed, and formed in close order many ranks deep. Any body formed in ranks and files, close and deep, without regard to a specific number of either ranks or files, was generally termed a phalanx.⁶³ But the Locrians, under Oilean Ajax, were all light-armed: bows were their principal weapons; and they never engaged in close fight.⁶⁴

Iliad. 1. 13. v. 722. Riding on horseback was yet little practised, though it appears to have been not unknown.⁶⁵ Some cen-

⁶³ Homer applies the term equally to the Trojan as to the Grecian troops. Iliad. 1. 4. v. 332. and 1. 6. v. 83.

⁶⁴ Homer has been evidently far more conversant in military matters than Hesiod. Yet there might be men of Locris to whom the epithet *ἀγχέμαχοι*, which Hesiod gives to the Locrians of Amphitryon's army,* would be properly applied.

⁶⁵ No person of Agamemnon's time is mentioned by Homer as riding on horseback, except Diomed, when with Ulysses he made prize of the horses of Rhesus.† A simile in the 15th book of the Iliad ‡ has been supposed to prove that horsemanship was greatly improved in the poet's age. It should however be observed that in the former instance riding is mentioned familiarly, and not at all as a new or extraordinary device; and that on the contrary in the latter an exhibition of skill is spoken of which attracted the attention and excited the admiration of the people of a large city.

* Scut. Herc. v. 25.

† Iliad. 1. 10. v. 513.

‡ v. 679.

turies however passed before it was generally applied in Greece to military purposes; the mountainous ruggedness of the country preventing any extensive use of cavalry, except among the Thessalians, whose territory was a large plain. But in the Homeric armies no chief was without his chariot, drawn generally by two, sometimes by three horses; and these chariots of war make a principal figure in Homer's battles. Nestor, forming the army for action, composes the first line of chariots only. In the second he places that part of the infantry in which he has least confidence; and then forms a third line, or reserve, of the most approved troops. It seems extraordinary that chariots should have been so extensively used in war as we find they were in the early ages. In the wide plains of Asia indeed we may account for their introduction, as we may give them credit for utility: but how they should become so general among the inhabitants of rocky, mountainous Greece, how the distant Britons should arrive at that surprising perfection in the use of them which the Commentaries transmitted as Cæsar's report they possessed when the Roman legions first invaded this island, especially as the same mode of fighting was little if at all practised among the Gauls and Germans, is less obvious to conjecture.⁶⁶ There is however a passage in Herodotus, which furnishes at ^{Herodot.} _{1. 5. c. 9.} least some degree of solution for the difficulty. The country north of the Danube, he says, abounded with

⁶⁶ Arrian* says that the Gauls and Germans did not use chariots in war: Strabo says that some tribes of the Gauls did use them: but Cæsar's omission of all mention of the practice among those nations is ample proof that, if it obtained at all, it was not extensive.

* Tact. p. 52. ed. Amstel. & Lips. 1750.

CHAP. II. horses, very small, but swift and hardy. Unable to carry men, they were commonly used in chariots, and thus made highly serviceable. In the early ages probably, through deficiency of pasture at some seasons of the year, horses would not generally attain any considerable size in Greece or in Britain; and the Asiatic practice of using chariots in war, if by migrating hordes once communicated,⁶⁷ might thus readily obtain, even in our distant island. Cæsar's praise of the British chariot forces, 'that they possessed at the same time the celerity of horse, and the stability of foot,' is no vulgar praise; though to us at this day it is not very clear from his description how such a manner of fighting should earn it.

De Bello
Gall.
I. 4. c. 9.

The combat of the chiefs, so repeatedly described by Homer, advancing to engage singly in front of their line of battle, is apt to strike a modern reader with an appearance of absurdity perhaps much beyond the reality. Before the use of fire-arms, that practice was not uncommon when the art of war was at its greatest perfection. In Cæsar's Commentaries we have a very particular account of an advanced combat, in which, not generals indeed, but two centurions of his army engaged. The Grecian chiefs of the heroic age, like the knights of the times of chivalry, had armour apparently very superior to that of the common soldiers; which, with the skill acquired by assiduous practice amid unbounded leisure, might enable them to obviate much of the seeming danger of such skirmishes. Nor might the effect be unimportant. Like the sharpshooters of modern days, a few men of superior strength, activity, and skill,

De Bello
Gall.
I. 5. c. 43.

⁶⁷ For such migration I have satisfaction in referring to a work published many years after the first publication of this volume, Turner's History of the Anglo-Saxons.

superior also by the excellence of their defensive SECT.
armour, might prepare a victory by creating disorder III.
in the close array of the enemy's phalanx. They
threw their weighty javelins from a distance, while
none dared advance to meet them but chiefs equally
well armed with themselves: and from the soldiers
in the ranks they had little to fear; because, in that
close order, the dart could not be thrown with any
advantage.⁶⁸ Occasionally indeed we find some person

⁶⁸ The vast force with which the heroes of old are reported to have thrown their javelins has been, I know, with some hardly credible; but those who about the year 1758 saw the Armenian Philippo throw a stick (the man who communicated to the Society for Encouragement of Arts the method of preparing Turkey leather) will know that Homer's descriptions require little if any allowance for poetical exaggeration. Philippo had been a horse-soldier in the Persian service.

Philippo's feats, in the recollection of many when this note was first published, will now be remembered by very few. But recently those of the Persian ambassador Mirza have been seen in Hyde Park. Mirza's dignity would allow him to exhibit his skill only on horseback; a manner unknown in Homer's time, but already familiar among the midland Asiatics when they checked Alexander's progress in conquest, and when afterward they destroyed Crassus. A powerful arm for the use of the dart, as for the use of the bow, or the delivery of a ball in the game of cricket, whether throwing or bowling, is to be acquired only by practice from almost infancy. The boast of length of shot which Shakspeare has attributed to his Justice Shallow has appeared extravagant to modern bowmen, who have taken up the exercise only for amusement when the limbs are already fully formed; but some attendants of the Turkish ambassador, with bows of their own country, shewed that it was quite within probability. Throwing a ball has a farther difficulty: and for the dart the difficulty is greater still, from the necessity of keeping the weapon parallel to itself from the utmost stretch of the arm backward to the utmost reach forward, grasping it firmly in the whole progress of the hand, not holding it delicately between finger and thumb as some painters have absurdly represented the action. But Philippo, in darting,

- CHAP. II. of inferior name advancing to throw his javelin at a chief occupied against some other, but retreating again immediately into the ranks: a resource not disdained by the greatest heroes when danger pressed.
- Iliad. l. 14. Hector himself, having thrown his javelin ineffectually at Ajax, retires towards his phalanx, but is overtaken by a stone of enormous weight, which brings him to the ground. If from the death or wounds of chiefs, or slaughter in the foremost ranks of soldiers, any confusion arose in the phalanx, the shock of the enemy's phalanx, advancing in perfect order, must be irresistible.⁶⁹

Another practice common in Homer's time is by no means equally defensible, but on the contrary marks great barbarism; that of stopping in the heat of action to strip the slain. Often this paltry passion for possessing the spoil of the enemy superseded all other, even the most important and most deeply interesting objects of battle. The poet himself was

added to the force of delivery by the exertion of almost every muscle of his frame, from the right hand, which delivered the dart, to the left foot, which, in stepping briskly forward with the right, was stretched to the utmost behind him. On horseback the feet cannot equally assist the arm, but the horse's progress in a gallop seconding the action of the man on his back, it is said the skilful horse-darter can throw farther than any man afoot.

⁶⁹ The expressions, ἐξάλμενος,—έκ δ' ἔθορε προμάχων,*—ἀψέτάρων εἰς ἔθνος ἐχαίζετο,† applied to the chiefs, and στριχες ἀνδρῶν,—πυργηδὸν ἀρηρότες,‡ applied to the phalanx, mark clearly the difference of the two modes of engagement. The manner of a general engagement in Homer's time may perhaps best be gathered from the 13th book of the Iliad: that of the close fight of infantry, in particular, from the action under the direction of Ajax, described in the 17th book.

* Iliad. l. 15. v. 571. 573.

† Iliad. l. 13. v. 165. & l. 14. v. 408.

‡ Iliad. l. 15. v. 615. & 618.

not unaware of the danger and inconveniency of the practice, and seems even to have aimed at a reformation of it. We find indeed in Homer's warfare a remarkable mixture of barbarism with regularity. Though the art of forming an army in phalanx was known and commonly practised, yet the business of a general, in directing its operations, was lost in the passion, or we may call it fashion, of the great men to signalize themselves by acts of personal courage and skill in arms. Achilles and Hector, the first heroes of the Iliad, excel only in the character of fighting soldiers: as generals and directors of the war, they are inferior to many. Indeed, while the fate of battles depended so much on the skirmishing of the chiefs, we cannot wonder that the prejudice should obtain which set the able arm, in vulgar estimation, above the able head. But the poet obviously has intended to expose the absurdity and mischievous consequence of that prejudice, where he makes Hector, in a late repentance, acknowledge the superior abilities of Polydamas. Yet Homer's own idea of the duties of an officer, though he certainly possessed very extensive and very accurate knowledge both of the theory and practice of war of his own age, was still very imperfect. Of all the leaders in the Iliad, unless we should except Ulysses and Nestor, Agamemnon is represented as most endowed with the qualifications of a general: and yet, coming forward in the midst of a doubtful battle, when we might expect the able commander to show himself, we find nothing more from him than exhortation to bold exertion. Merion, an officer very high both in rank and estimation, happening to break his spear in action, immediately quits his command to go to his tent and provide himself with another weapon. Nestor, giving

Iliad.
l. 5. v. 48. &
l. 6. v. 67.
l. 18. v. 106.
& 252.
l. 22. v. 99.
l. 5. v. 528.
&
l. 14. v. 128.
l. 13. v. 246.
l. 4. v. 293.

CHAP. II. orders for an approaching battle, calls the infantry ‘the prop of war;’ but his directions are almost confined to the charioteers, and even to them discretionary: and, upon the whole, to show the troops the way, more than to command them, seems to have been the business of the chiefs. Excepting indeed in the single circumstance of forming the army in order of battle, so far from the general, we scarcely ever discover even the officer among Homer’s heroes. It is not till most of the principal Grecian leaders are disabled for the duty of soldiers that at length they so far take upon themselves that of officers as to endeavour to restore order among their broken phalanges: and even this is not done but at the particular instigation of the god Neptune. The introduction of a deity here may lead to suppose that the poet himself had ideas of the business of officers superior to the practice of his age. But, after only general expressions concerning the attention paid to restore order and give efficacy to the phalanges,⁷⁰ we find a detail of methods taken to make the most of the particular strength and skill of the ablest individuals, as if that were a matter of greater importance.

We might however yet more wonder at another deficiency in Homer’s art of war, were it not still universal throughout those rich and populous countries where mankind was first civilized. Even among the Turks, who, far as they have spread over the finest part of Europe, retain pertinaciously every defect of their ancient Asiatic customs, the easy and apparently obvious precaution of posting and relieving

⁷⁰ Τοὺς δ' αὐτοὶ βασιλῆς ἐκόσμεον, οὐτάμενοι περ.

Iliad. 1. 14. v. 379.

At the same time,

Τρῶας δ' αὖθ' ἐτέρωθεν ἐκόσμεε φαῖδημος "Εκτωρ.—v. 388.

sentries, so essential to the safety of armies, has never obtained. When, in the ill turn of the Grecian affairs, constant readiness for defence became more especially necessary, it is mentioned as an instance of soldiership in the active Diomed, that he slept on his arms without his tent : but no kind of watch was kept ; all his men were at the same time asleep around him ; and the other leaders were yet less prepared against surprise. A guard indeed selected from the army was set, in the manner of a modern grand-guard or out-post ; but, though commanded by two officers high both in rank and reputation, yet the commander-in-chief expresses his fear that, overcome with fatigue, the whole might fall asleep and totally forget their duty.⁷¹ The Trojans, who at the same time, after their success, slept on the field of battle, had no guard appointed by authority, but depended wholly upon the interest which every one had in preventing a surprise : ‘ They exhorted one another to be watchful,’ says the poet. But the allies all slept ; and he subjoins the reason, ‘ For they had no children or wives at hand.’ However, though Homer does not expressly blame the defect, or propose a remedy, yet he gives, in the surprise of Rhesus, an instance of the disasters to which armies are exposed by intermission of watching, that might admonish his fellow-countrymen to improve their practice.

The Greeks, and equally the Trojans and their allies, encamped with great regularity ; and fortified, if in danger of an attack from a superior enemy. Indeed Homer ascribes no superiority in the art of war, or even in personal courage, to his fellow-countrymen. Even those inland Asiatics, afterward so un-

Iliad.
l. 10. v. 422.

⁷¹ . . . Φυλακῆς ἐπιπάγχυ λάθωνται. — Iliad. l. 10. v. 99.

CHAP. II. warlike,⁷² are put by him upon a level with the bravest people. He gives the Mysians the character of persevering bravery ; and the Lycians are included with the Trojans and Dardanians under a very honorable epithet, which bespeaks them approved good soldiers in close fight.⁷³ The tumultuous noise in the Trojan army, mentioned in the same passage of the Iliad where the praise of steady silence is given to the Greeks, the poet himself expressly accounts for ; ascribing it, not to any inferiority in discipline, but to the variety of languages spoken among the Trojan allies, which made the delivery of orders, and acting in concert, works of difficulty. Tents, like those now in use, seem to have been a late invention. The ancients, on desultory expeditions, and in marching through a country, slept with no shelter but their cloaks; as our light troops often carry none but a blanket—a practice which Buonaparte extended to his whole army, thereby providing a speedy and miserable death for thousands in his retreat from Russia. When the ancients remained long on a spot they huttred. Achilles's tent or hut was built of fir, and thatched with reeds : and it seems to have had several apartments.

NAVIGATION had been much practised, long before Homer, in small open vessels, nearly such as are still common in the Mediterranean ; and the poet gives no hint of any late advancement of the art. The seas indeed which nearly surround Greece are singularly adverse to improvements upon that vast scale which oceans require, and which modern times have

⁷² Ἀεροδιαιτῶν Λυδῶν

"Οχλος" as Æschylus contemptuously calls them.

Pers. p. 127. ed. H. Steph.

⁷³ Λγχιμαχηται. Iliad. l. 15. v. 425, et al.

produced. Broken by innumerable headlands and islands, with coasts mostly mountainous, and in some parts of extraordinary height, the Grecian seas are beyond others subject to sudden and violent storms. These united circumstances, which have made the Greeks of all ages excellent boatmen, have contributed much to prevent them from becoming seamen. The skill and experience of the pilot, in the modern sense of the term, are constantly wanted : the science of the navigator is of little avail : even the compass is comparatively useless in the *Ægean*. The Mediterranean vessels now, not excepting the French, which are mostly navigated by Mediterranean sailors, never keep the sea there but with a fair wind. The English alone, accustomed in all their surrounding waters to a bolder navigation, commonly venture in the Archipelago to work to windward.⁷⁴ Sails were used in fair winds in Homer's time, but the art of sailing was extremely imperfect. The

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⁷⁴ Wood in his Essay on Homer has remarked an analogous circumstance in the navigation of the Adriatic. I remember to have heard an English captain of a Turkey ship, a man of knowledge and character, say that he did not scruple, in tolerable weather, to work to windward within the Arches, (as our seamen call the Archipelago, which is itself a corruption of the modern Greek Aigiopelago,) but he made it a rule never to take off his clothes, and, without leaving orders to be called in the instant of any threatening appearance in the sky, or any dubious sight of land, never to quit his deck.

Since the first publication of this note, I have observed that Mr. Gibbon derives Archipelago from "Αγιον πέλαγος, Holy sea, so called, he says, from the "Αγιον ὄρος, Monte santo, Holy mountain, formerly Athos. All the modern people of the south of Europe have indeed been fond of sainting everything. Thus the Sabine mountain, so well known from Horace by its ancient name *Soracte*, is become with the modern Italians *Sant' Oreste*; and thus possibly some of the modern Greeks may have converted Αἴγειον πέλαγος into "Λγιον πέλαγος.

CHAP. II. mariner's dependence was on his oars, which no vessel was without. For in seas so landlocked, yet so tempestuous, the greatest danger was to the stoutest ship. Light vessels, which with their oars could creep along the coast, watch the weather, make way in calms, and on any threatening appearance find shelter in shoal water, or upon an open beach, were what Grecian navigation peculiarly required. The Phenicians for their commerce used deeper ships, accommodated to their more open seas and longer voyages. But with such weapons only as the ancients knew, and in seas where calms as well as storms were frequent, vessels of the galley kind, which by their oars could attack, or oppose attacks, on all sides, in all winds, or without wind, were alone fit for naval action. Without artillery indeed ships like the modern could scarcely at all engage. The term long ships, both with Greeks and Romans, commonly distinguished their ships of war from vessels of burden, which were called round ships. Wood has supposed that naval actions were unknown in Homer's time; but this appears unlikely, and some terms used by the poet seem to prove the contrary.⁷⁵ The

Thucyd.
I. I. c. 10.

Grecian vessels were yet without decks: anchors also were unknown; nor does there seem any foundation for a common notion that large stones were used as anchors. It was usual to moor vessels to large stones found or placed on the shore;⁷⁶ but when any stay was made at a port, the vessel itself was drawn out of the water upon the beach. For, the manner of ancient navigation requiring that the construction of the vessel should be adapted to rowing more than sailing, the depth of the vessel must be small, and

⁷⁵ Particularly *ναῦμαχα*. Iliad. I. 15. v. 389. & 677.

⁷⁶ . . . Πεῖσμα δ' ἔλυσαν ἀπὸ τρητοῦ λίθου.

Odyss. I. 13. v. 77.

the hands to work it many. Accommodations were therefore unavoidably scanty ; and health as well as convenience would require that the crew should live ashore when not wanted aboard. We may compute the size of the largest vessels used in Homer's age, from the greatest number of men mentioned to have been carried by any one vessel of Agamemnon's fleet, which was one hundred and twenty ; or perhaps still better from the crew of the Phœacian vessel appointed Odyss. I. 8 to carry Ulysses to Ithaca ; they were fifty-two, all v. 34—54. rowers. This vessel had a moveable mast, mentioned in the singular number, and sails in the plural. Hempen cordage seems to have been unknown : its purposes were supplied by leathern thongs. The principal constellations of our hemisphere, and the apparent courses of the sun and stars, had been observed. With the help of these the Greeks were able to navigate as far as Cyprus, Phenicia, and Egypt,⁷⁷ though their commerce yet seldom led them beyond the Ægean. The seas westward of Greece were less practised. Sicily remained a subject for fable, as the habitation of giants and monsters. The wood on dangers of the Adriatic shores to coasting navigators kept them unexplored : and Strabo, deducing his proof from Homer, says that the Euxine was thought another ocean, and little more known than the Atlantic.

Strabo,
l. 1. p. 21.

Of the sciences, ASTRONOMY would naturally be among the first to engage the attention of men. Its objects can neither escape notice, nor fail of exciting wonder ; and its utility would quickly become obvious.

⁷⁷ Ulysses in his voyage from the island of Calypso, with a fair wind all the way, was seventeen days out of sight of land. Odyss. l. 5. v. 270.

CHAP. III. The means of computing times and seasons, to know when new fruits and fresh harvests might be expected, were among the first necessities. The sun, by its apparent daily revolution, gave a division of time perfectly obvious and highly useful, but not affording easy means for proceeding to the computation of seasons. It would soon be observed, even in low latitudes, that the seasons followed the sun's apparent annual revolution; but to calculate that revolution with any approach to accuracy, was a business not soon to be accomplished. The moon therefore, by the striking and rapid changes in its appearance, was, among the celestial luminaries, the readiest instrument for calculation of time beyond a small number of days; and has accordingly been the first used among all uncultivated people. Hence, and not from any predilection for darkness and gloomy ideas, to which it has been absurdly enough attributed, arose that practice of our Teutonic ancestors, which we still in part retain, of reckoning time by nights rather than by days. It became then the business, through the obvious changes of the moon, to ascertain the less discernible but far more important changes of the sun, which govern the seasons. Twelve revolutions of the inferior were found nearly equal to one of the greater luminary; and three hundred and fifty-four days, or twelve months of twenty-nine and thirty days alternately, were assigned for the term of a year. This method of computing time seems to have passed from the East into Greece; where it became so established for the purpose of ascertaining the return of days for civil business and religious ceremonies that, notwithstanding its extreme inconveniences, the more accurate subsequent calculations of the year never entirely superseded its use. But

a year thus deficient by near eleven days and a half of the real period of the earth's revolution around the sun presently led to so erroneous a computation of seasons that the husbandman particularly would find it utterly unfit for his purpose. In climates therefore where the sky was seldom long obscured by vapors the stars were soon found far more accurate directors than the moon; while their changes were far more readily distinguished than those of the sun. Accordingly Hesiod, in his Treatise on Husbandry, marks the seasons for various works by the rising and setting of the stars; and we learn from his poems, and from Homer, that in their early age the more remarkable stars of our hemisphere were already classed in constellations, nearly in the same manner, and by the same names, as at this day. Ignorance of astronomy we find mentioned by Æschylus, speaking, in the person of Prometheus, of the state of mankind in the first ages, as a mark of the deepest barbarism; and observation of the stars as the first thing necessary to civilized life.⁷⁸ In our northern climate, the shortness of the summer-nights and the coldness of the winter, together with the greater frequency of obscuring vapors, make the stars less objects for the husbandman; while the greater variety in the apparent course of the sun, if the exactness with which the year is now divided by more artificial helps did not render it needless, would in a great degree answer the same purpose; and accordingly we still often find among our husbandmen surprising accuracy

78 Ἡν δ' οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς οὔτε χείματος τέκμαρ,
Οὔτ' ἀνθεμώδους ἥπος, οὔτε καρπίμου
Θέρους βέβαιον· ἀλλ' ὑπέρ γνώμης τὸ πᾶν
Ἐπρασσον, ἔστε δή σφιν ἀντολὰς ἐγώ
Ἄστρων ἔδειξα, τάς τε δυσκρίτους δύσεις.

Prometh. Vinct. p. 31. ed. H. Steph.

CHAP. II. in observing the sun. But the people of lower climates, deprived of the pleasant moderation of our summer-days, live in the hot season almost only in the night, and thus become astronomers naturally and almost necessarily.⁷⁹

The knowledge of the cure of internal diseases made, it should seem, in Homer's age, no part of the science of PHYSIC. It is remarkable that the poet nowhere speaks in plain terms of sickness. Diseases indeed, and mortal ones, are mentioned, but as the effect always of the immediate stroke of the Deity, and not of anything in the common course of nature. They seem thus to have been esteemed utterly beyond the reach of human skill to relieve. The epidemical sickness of the army before Troy was occasioned by the darts of Apollo, and could be removed only by the prayers of Chryses. That scanty knowledge of nature to which the age had arrived was applied only to relieve the effects of external violence upon the human frame. Skill in surgery was in the highest esteem;⁸⁰ though it seems to have gone no farther than to the extraction of the in-

⁷⁹ Præterea tam sunt Arcturi sidera nobis
Hædorumque dies servandi, et lucidus anguis,
Quam quibus, &c.—Virg. Georg. i. 207.

The learned jesuit Ruæus, the Delphin annotator on Virgil, seems to have been too much of a Parisian to enter into his author's ideas generally in the didactic parts of the Georgics, and he has not known what to make of the reference to the stars as the husbandman's almanac. Apparently he had not adverted to the fact that the stars remained to a late age, in some of the states of Greece, not only the husbandman's almanac, but the statesman's. The completion of the year of the first magistracy, the *στρατηγία*, in the Achæan league, was decided by the stars. Polyb. l. 5. p. 350. ed. Cas.

⁸⁰ Ἰητρὸς γὰρ ἀνὴρ πολλῶν ἀντάξιος ἔλλων.

Iliad. 1. 11. v. 514.

strument of a wound, and the application of a few simples for stopping hæmorrhages, and assuaging inflammations. Charms and incantations therefore were sometimes called to its assistance, or even to supply its place. Ulysses when very young being wounded by a wild boar, the hæmorrhage was stopped by incantation.⁸¹

SECT.
IV.

SECTION IV.

Of the manners of the early Greeks.

The MANNERS of a people receive their tone from a great variety of circumstances; climate; soil; extent of territory; population; religion; government, monarchal or republican, vigorous and permanent, or weak and changeable; system of jurisprudence; administration of justice, ready and certain, or feeble and irregular; science; arts; commerce; communication with strangers. We find accordingly the manners of the Homeric age distinguished from those of following times in Greece by many characteristical lines; and we may observe throughout a strong oriental tinge, which afterward very much faded away. Migrations from the East into Greece had ceased before Homer; but the eastern merchants still engrossed the little commerce of the Grecian towns. Afterward, whether from a republican jealousy of foreigners, whether from a republican industry with increased population, whether from a republican frugality, with the naturally attending disposition to decry foreign luxuries, or whether the propensity to piracy among the Greeks, with increased naval strength, deterred commerce, the intercourse be-

⁸¹ Ἐπαοιδῆ. Odyss. l. 19. v. 457.

CHAP. II. tween the two countries lessened. The distinguishing features in the Homeric manners are that licentiousness and that hospitality, together with the union, at first view so strange to us, of the highest dignities with the meanest employments, which have prevailed in the East so remarkably through all ages. These are however not the peculiar growth of any soil and climate. The two first are the seldom failing produce of defective government; and the other will everywhere be found in an unimproved state of society. The resemblance borne, till within this century, by the manners of the Highland Scots to those of the Orientals, in these particulars, is striking. But in Greece, though the ties of blood had such weight with the people among themselves, yet we find nothing of clanship, nothing of that devoted attachment of vassals to the family of a chief, which distinguished many of the Orientals, as well as our northern Highlanders. While the claims of hereditary royalty were established in general opinion, some respect would adhere to the known posterity of a popular leader; but superior personal qualities were always necessary to maintain even the possession of rank and wealth.

There is a passage in the *Odyssey* which illustrates remarkably at the same time the government, the morality, and the religion of the age. It was proposed among the suitors of Penelope to kill her son Telemachus, and divide his property. One only of them hesitated. ‘To kill a person of royal race,’ he says, ‘is no light matter. Let us therefore consult the gods. If the laws of the great Jupiter approve, myself will be among the first both to persuade and to strike the stroke; but, if the gods forbid, I advise to forbear.’ The person thus represented seriously expressing doubt whether the

Odyss.

L 16. v. 398.

foulest murder might not be committed with approbation of the deity, is described of high birth, respectable character, and superior understanding. But murders were so common that, without peculiar circumstances of enormity, they scarcely left a stain upon the character of the perpetrator. Some of the favorite personages of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, as the author of the *Essay on the Original Genius of Homer* has observed, had been guilty of this crime, and had fled their country in consequence; not however to escape public justice, but to avoid revenge from the relations of the deceased. Private revenge we know was formerly almost the only restraint upon the most atrocious crimes against individuals in our own country, and still more in the rest of western Europe; insomuch that, in the weakness of public justice, private revenge even received the sanction, and was put under the guidance of public law. Hence it was that among the early Greeks, as in general through the East, a numerous progeny was so particularly esteemed a great blessing to parents. A numerous family was always a powerful family: it could do justice to itself; and, if unanimously so inclined, injure others with impunity. But ‘cruelty, ‘violence, and oppression,’ says the writer just mentioned, who had studied oriental manners from the life, ‘are so evidently the result of defective government that it is unnecessary to look for any other general cause of the scenes of this sort with which Homer abounds, in common with other ancient writers, and agreeably to the present manners of the East. For when every man is in great measure judge in his own cause, vices of this class are not only more frequent, but less criminal than in a civilized state; where the individual transfers his

Robertson's
Charles V.

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II.

' resentments to the community, and private injury
' expects redress from public justice. Where the
' legislature does not engage for our personal security
' we have a right to use such means as are in our
' power to destroy the aggressor who would destroy
' us. In such cases bodily strength and courage
' must decide most contests; while, on the other
' hand, craft, cunning, and surprise are the legiti-
' mate weapons of the weak against the strong. We
' accordingly find, that both the ancient and the
' modern history of the East is a continued scene of
' bloodshed and treachery.' These very just reflec-
tions may teach us to exercise our pity and spare our
censure on human nature in such unfortunate cir-
cumstances.

' Hospitality,' says the same writer, treating of what he had seen, ' prevails in most countries, and in the different provinces of each country, very much in proportion to the idleness, poverty, and insecurity which attend a defective police. It is some consolation, in so wretched a state of society, that this virtue should be most cultivated where it is most wanted. In Arabia the rights of hospitality, so properly called the Point of Honor in the East, are the happy substitute of positive law; which in some degree supplies the place of justice; connecting, by a voluntary intercourse of good offices, those vagabond tribes who despise legislation, deny the perfect rights of mankind, and set the civil magistrate at defiance: a strong instance of that sympathising principle in the social constitution of our own nature, which the wisest government will encourage, and which the most depraved cannot suppress.' In confirmation of these judicious remarks, we find it stated as a principle by Homer,

that, ‘to those not totally void of the feelings of humanity the guest and the suppliant should be as a near relation:’ and he gives them a divine right to kind treatment, ‘the stranger,’ he says, ‘and the poor are from Jove.’ The liberties taken by suppliant strangers, and the confidence reposed in them, were consonant to these principles. Ulysses, saved alone from shipwreck on an unknown coast, goes without introduction to the palace of the king of the country, which is represented as singularly rich and splendid, enters the apartments, and finding the king and queen at supper with the principal nobles, abruptly addresses his supplication to the queen. Not only kindness but honor is immediately shown to him: he is lodged in the palace, and next day the king, recommending him to favor in an assembly of the people, declares at the same time that he knows not who he is. It seems indeed to have been a general point of civility not hastily to ask any stranger who he was. Telemachus and Mentor, landing in the port of Pylus, find the venerable Nestor, prince of the country, with the assembled Pylian people, on the shore, in the midst of the ceremony of a magnificent public sacrifice. The strangers are no sooner perceived approaching than the Pylians crowd to meet them, salute in terms of friendship, and invite them to partake of the feast which always followed a sacrifice, and which indeed seems to have been an essential part of the ceremony. They were however not left to the civility of the multitude: Pisistratus, son of Nestor, advancing before the rest took them by the hand, and placed them at table by his royal father and his elder brother. When the meal was over, Nestor spoke in these remarkable terms: ‘Now the strangers have eaten to their satisfaction,

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II.
 ‘ it will be proper to ask them who they are, and
 ‘ whence they come. Strangers, who are you, and
 ‘ whence come you, navigating the watery ways? Is
 ‘ it for any business? or do you roam at large as
 ‘ pirates over the sea; those who wander risking
 ‘ their own lives and bringing evil upon others?’

Thucyd.
l. 1. c. 5.

Thucydidies, than whom none could be better qualified to judge, believed this to be a faithful picture of the manners of his ancestors; and he has observed upon it that Nestor's question was in the common way of inquiry, and not at all implying doubt whether the strangers were worthy of his hospitality, or fit company for his table, though they might be pirates.

Odys.
l. 4. v. 1.

Telemachus and Pisistratus afterward, going as hereditary guests, but not personally known, to Menelaus king of Sparta, neither announce themselves, nor does any one inquire who they are. The king, only informed by one of his household that unknown strangers, just arrived in a chariot, are waiting without, expresses displeasure at the mention of a doubt whether they were to be treated in the palace, or provided elsewhere; orders that they should be immediately introduced into the hall where he was sitting at a public supper, with his court, places them by himself at table, and then tells them that, after they have supped, he will ask them who they are, and whence they came.

Odys.
l. 1. v. 119.

In the same manner, in a former part of the poem, Telemachus himself is represented expressing indignation at the least delay of civility to a stranger whom he observed at the gate of his father's palace; goes out himself to receive him, and tells him that he shall first sup, and then declare his errand.⁷⁸

Iliad. l. 6.
v. 215. & al.

From these offices of hos-

⁷⁸ The manners of chivalry had many things congenial with those of heroic times. Shakspeare is scarcely copying Homer

pitality, once performed, new and still more sacred rights arose, which did not expire with the persons who gave origin to them, but descended to all the posterity of either party. A man was peculiarly bound to show kindness to a hereditary guest, to one who had entertained any of his ancestors, or who had been entertained by them.

SECT.
IV.

How necessary this generous point of honor was to alleviate the miseries to which mankind in that unsettled state of law and government were liable, we may gather from many lively and affecting pictures scattered through Homer's poems.⁷⁹ Beside the general incompetency of governments to secure internal order, the best regulated were in perpetual danger of ruin from foreign enemies: and this ruin was cruel, was complete. ‘These are the evils,’ we are told in the Iliad, ‘that follow the capture of a town: the men are killed; the city is burned to the ground; the women and children of all ranks are carried off for slaves.’ ‘Wretch that I am,’^{Iliad. 1. 9. v. 590.} says the venerable Priam, ‘what evil does the great Jupiter bring on me in my old age! My sons slain, my daughters dragged into slavery; violence per-^{1. 22. v. 60.} vading even the chambers of my palace; and the very infants dashed against the ground in horrid sport of war. I myself, slain in the vain office of when he makes Belarius thus address Imogen wandering in the disguise of a boy:

----- Fair youth, come in:
Discourse is heavy, fasting; when we've supped
We'll mannerly demand thee of thy story.

Cymbeline, act 3.

⁷⁹ A remarkable one, evidently taken from the poet's own age, may be seen in a simile in the 18th book of the Iliad, v. 207. Andromache's speech, Iliad, b. 22. v. 487.; and Nestor's account of his marauding expedition into Elis, Il. b. 11. v. 670. afford additional indications.

CHAP. II. ‘ defence, shall be the prey of my own dogs, perhaps
 ‘ in my very palace gates !’

Where such was war the manners of warriors even of the noblest characters could not be without stains of barbarism and illiberality. We find in the Iliad men of highest rank, meeting in battle, address each other in language the most grossly insulting; threatening, reviling, and sometimes jesting in a very unseemly manner on the misfortunes of their adversaries. ‘ You whom the Greeks so honor above others,’ says Hector to Diomed, ‘ are no better than a woman. Go, wretch !’ Then follows the reason of this personal anger: ‘ You think to storm our city and carry off our women in your ships.’ After this the added threat will not appear unreasonable. ‘ My arm,’ continues Hector, ‘ shall first send you to the infernal deities.’ With minds thus heated, and manners thus roughened, it is no wonder if we find chiefs of the same nation and army use great illiberality of language one to another. Of this, not to mention a dispute so extreme as that be-

I. 12. v. 247. tween Agamemnon and Achilles, Hector in a speech I. 23. v. 473. to Polydamas, and Oilean Ajax to Idomeneus, afford I. 6. v. 55. remarkable examples.

It was little usual to give quarter. ‘ Why so tender-hearted ?’ says Agamemnon to Menelaus, seeing him hesitate while a Trojan of high rank, who had the misfortune to be disabled by being thrown from his chariot, was begging for life: ‘ Are you and your house so beholden to the Trojans ? Let not one of them escape destruction from our hands ; no, not the child within his mother’s womb. Let all perish unmourned ; let not a vestige of them be seen remaining.’ The poet gives the sanction of his own approbation to this inhumanity in a prince

by no means generally characterized inhuman: ‘ It SECT.
IV.
 ‘ was justly spoken,’ says Homer; ‘ and he turned
 ‘ his brother’s mind.’ Menelaus accordingly pushed
 away the noble suppliant, and the king of men him-
 self was the executioner who put the unresisting
 wretch to death. Hector, in whom we find so many
 amiable qualities, was not less infected with this bar-
 barous spirit of his age. When he had killed Pa- Iliad.
l. 17. v. 125.
 troclus, and stripped him on the spot of his rich
 armour, he postponed the most pressing and most im-
 portant concerns, equally his own and his country’s,
 to the gratification of weak revenge; losing sight of
 all the greater objects of battle while he struggled
 for the naked corse, with intention to complete its
 contumely by giving it to be devoured by Trojan
 dogs, and to make his vengeance lasting by depriving
 it of those funeral rites which, in the opinion of the
 times, were necessary to the repose of souls after
 death. No wonder therefore that the common Greeks
 should delight in wounding the dead body of Hector 1.22. v. 375.
 himself, when he was soon after slain; nor ought we
 to attribute peculiar ferocity to the character of
 Achilles for the indignities with which he treated
 it, since both the morality and the religion of his
 age, far from condemning such conduct, evidently
 taught him to consider it as directed, not indeed by
 humanity, but by social affection, and enforced by
 that piety, such as it was, which the gods of his
 country required. When the unfortunate monarch
 of Troy came afterward in person to beg the body
 of his heroic son, we find the conduct of Achilles 1.24. v. 592.
 marked by a superior spirit of generous humanity.
 Yet in the very act of granting the pious request he
 doubts if he is quite excusable to the soul of his de-
 parted friend, for remitting the extremity of venge-

CHAP. II. ance which he had meditated by restoring the corse to receive the rites of burial. Agreeably to this cruel spirit of warfare, the token of victory was the head of the principal person of the vanquished slain fixed on a post. The milder temper of a more civilized age abolished this custom, and it became usual for the conqueror to suspend only a suit of armour on a post; which thus adorned was termed a trophy. Perhaps fire-arms have contributed to humanize war. The most cruel strokes to individuals are now generally in a great measure the result of chance; it seldom can be ascertained from what hand precisely they come; and revenge thus wants its object. Other favorable circumstances indeed have assisted; but this, it may be presumed, has had its share in making revenge alien to modern warfare.

While such were the horrors of war, continually threatening, not frontier provinces of extensive realms, but every man's door, we may wonder at any progress that civility and the arts of peace had made among mankind; that wealth, grandeur, elegance, or almost anything beyond mere necessities of life, were thought worth any pains to acquire. But, amid the alarms of violence and oppression, the spirit of hospitality, so generally diffused, often alleviated misfortune; and, even in the crash of nations, many individuals, if they could save only their lives from the general ruin, were at no loss for resources. This extensive communication of the rights of hospitality was of powerful effect to humanize a savage people, to excite a relish for elegance in style of living, and to make the more refined joys of society more eagerly sought as well as more easily obtained. There was in Homer's time great difference in the possessions of individuals; some had large tracts of land with

numerous herds and flocks ; others had none. This state of things is generally favorable to the arts ; a few who have a superabundance of wealth being better able, and generally more willing to encourage them, than numbers who have only a competency. The communication of the rights of hospitality would also assist towards the preservation of property to those families who had once acquired it. A sort of association was thus formed which in some degree supplied the want of a regular administration of law. Without some security thus derived we scarcely should have found distinction of rank so strongly marked as it is in Homer. A man of rank, it appears, might be known by his gait and manners, under every disguise of a mean habit and mean employment. This could never be without a wide distinction existing through successive generations. A youth is described, elegant in his dress, and delicate in his person, ‘such,’ says the poet, ‘as the sons of princes usually are.’ It is remarkable that the youth thus described was in the employment of a shepherd. Strength however and activity always go to the description of Homer’s men of rank : but luxury, such as it was in those days, never is mentioned as unbecoming a hero ; though it was more particularly the privilege of the aged.⁸⁰ The wealthy, as we have already observed, had houses of freestone,

⁸⁰ The speech of Ulysses, himself in disguise, to his father Laertes, digging in his garden, is remarkable :

Οὐδέ τί τοι δούλειον ἐπιτρέπει εἰσοράσθαι
Εἴδος καὶ μέγεθος· βασιλῆς γὰρ ἀνδρὸς ἔνικας·
Τουούτῳ δὲ ἔοικας, ἐπεὶ λούσαστο φάγοι τε,
Εὔδέμεναι μαλακῶς· Η γὰρ δίκη ἔστι γερόντων.

Odyss. I. 24. v. 251.

The commentators have observed a difficulty in this passage ; but it is only a grammatical difficulty ; the sense appears sufficiently obvious. Few passages are more exactly translated in

CHAP. II. spacious, and with many apartments on different floors ; and we find all the offices to be expected in a great family performed with much regularity.⁸¹

Odys. 1.20. v. 149. The directions which Penelope's housekeeper gives to the menial servants for the business of the day might still serve in the East without variation : ‘ Go ‘ quickly,’ she said ; ‘ some of you sweep the house, ‘ and sprinkle it ; and let the crimson carpets be ‘ spread upon the seats ; let all the tables be well ‘ rubbed with sponges, and wash carefully the bowls ‘ and the cups. Some of you go immediately to the ‘ fountain for water.’ No less than twenty went on

1.22. v. 421. this errand. The whole number of maid-servants were fifty ; not however all employed in household business ; for we find fifty also forming the establishment of Alcinous, of whom, ‘ some,’ says the poet, ‘ ground at the mill,’ (an employment of great labor while handmills alone were in use,) ‘ and some turned ‘ the spindle, or threw the shuttle.’ Men-servants waited at meals ; and those of Ulysses’ household are described as comely youths, handsomely clothed, and always neat in their appearance. Servants of both sexes appear to have been all slaves.

Pope’s version : in which nevertheless the characteristical word *μέγεθος* remains unnoticed ; so is *the bath* ; and the term *monarch* is used for *βασιλεὺς*, which is not intended here for so strict a sense, being put as a general term for a nobleman or man of high rank :—

Nor speaks thy form a mean or servile mind.
I read a monarch in that princely air ;
The same thy aspect, if the same thy care.
Soft sleep, fair garments, and the joys of wine,
These are the rights of age, and should be thine.

Pope’s Odyss. b. 24. v. 301.

⁸¹ See the reception of Telemachus at Pylus and at Sparta, in the 3d and 4th books of the *Odyssey* ; as well as the conduct of Ulysses’ household, in various parts of the poem.

Homer's account indeed proves what had been previously remarked, that since the age of Hercules and Theseus considerable progress had been made in establishing the powers of government over Peloponnesus at least, and giving security to the country. No apprehension of such dangers as Theseus found in the way from Trœzen to Athens is mentioned in the account of Telemachus's journey from Pylus to Sparta. Without attendants Telemachus and Pistratus set out in a chariot drawn by two horses. They carry with them provisions for the day. In the evening they arrive at Pheræ, where they are entertained by Diocles a chief of the country. The next evening they arrive at Sparta; and their return affords no more variety of story.

Odyss.
l. 15. v. 332.

Homer has left us many pictures of his heroes in their hours of relaxation, with the goblet circulating. It has indeed been very anciently observed, that he shows himself strongly disposed to social and convivial enjoyment. Horace has aggravated the remark into a reproach.⁸² Yet, allowing for the peculiarities of the manners of the heroic ages, most of which are still found in the East, there is great elegance in Homer's convivial meetings. Once he makes express mention of drunkenness; but the anecdote forms a strong lesson to deter from that vice; showing, by a terrible example, that persons of highest rank and most respectable character, if they yield to intemperance, reduce themselves for the time to a level with the lowest and most profligate, and are liable to every indignity. But at the feasts of the great the song of the bard seldom failed to make a principal

Odyss.
l. 21. v. 295.
See note 21.
p. 39, of
this volume.

Odyss.
l. 8. v. 62.
vid. &

⁸² Laudibus arguitur vini vinosus Homerus.

Horat. l. 1. Epist. 19. v. 6.

1. l. v. 153. part of the entertainment. The bard indeed seems
 1. 4. v. 17. to have been a person of importance in the household
 1. 22. v. 330. & establishment of every wealthy chief. His knowledge
 1. 23. v. 133. and memory, in the deficiency of books, were to
 Strabo, 1. 1. supply the place of a library : his skill in music and
 p. 15, 16. poetry was to convey instruction in the most agreeable manner, and inform even when pleasure was the only apparent object. In one instance Homer attributes extraordinary authority to the bard. *Ægisthus*
 Odyss. 1. 3. v. 263. could not accomplish his purpose of possessing himself of the person of Clytemnestra, and the principal sway in the Argive government, till he had removed the bard whom Agamemnon had appointed to be chief counsellor to the queen in his absence.

Women, in the Homeric age, enjoyed more freedom, and communicated more in business and amusement among men, than in after ages has been usual in those eastern countries, far more than at Athens in the flourishing times of the commonwealth. In the Iliad we find Helen and Andromache frequently appearing in company with the Trojan chiefs, and entering freely into the conversation. Attended only by one or two maid-servants, they walk through the streets of Troy as business or fancy lead them. Penelope, persecuted as she is by her suitors, does not scruple occasionally to show herself among them; and scarcely more reserve seems to have been imposed on virgins than on married women. Equally indeed Hesiod's elegant eulogies and Hesiod's severe sarcasm prove women to have been in their days in Greece important members of society. The character of Penelope in the Odyssey is the completest panegyric on the sex that ever was composed; and no language can give a more elegant or a more highly-colored picture of conjugal affection than is displayed in the conversation

Odyss.
1. 8. v. 457.
Hesiod.
Op. & Di.
1. 1. v. 373.
& Theog.
v. 570.

between Hector and Andromache in the sixth book of the Iliad. Even Helen, notwithstanding her failings, and independently of her beauty, steals upon the heart, in Homer's description, by the modesty of her deportment and the elegance of her manners. On all occasions indeed Homer shows a disposition to favor the sex: civility and attention to them he attributes most particularly to his greatest characters, to Achilles, and still more remarkably to Hector. The infinite variety of his subjects, and the historical nature of his poems, led him necessarily to speak of bad women: but even when the black deed of Clytemnestra calls for his severest reprobation, still his delicacy toward the sex leads him to mention it in a manner that might tend to guard against that reproach which would be liable to involve all for the wickedness of one.⁸³ With some things of course

Iliad.
1. 9. v. 340.
&
1. 24. v. 762.

⁸³ Pope, who was as little disposed to favor the sex as he was formed to be favored by them, has remarkably extended and aggravated his author's invective in translating the speech of the injured Agamemnon to Ulysses in the Elysian fields:

----- 'Η δ' ἔξοχα λύγρ' εἰδὺια,
 Τιτε κατ' αἰσχος ἔχενε, καὶ ἐσσομένησιν ὀπίσσω
 Θηλυτέρησι γυναιξὶ, καὶ οὐ κ' εὐεργῆς ἔησιν.

Odyss. 1. 11. v. 431.

The meaning is simply this: 'Clytemnestra's wickedness has been so extreme, that it will communicate infamy to woman-kind through all futurity: even the good will not escape reproach for it.' But in the translation which Pope either made or adopted, Agamemnon pronounces the whole sex perjured, and doubts if a single virtuous woman will ever be found:

----- 'Thy deeds,' he says, 'disgrace
 'The perjured sex, and blacken all the race;
 'And should posterity one virtuous find,
 'Name Clytemnestra, they will curse the kind.'

Pope's Odyss. b. 11. v. 540.

Another strong instance of this turn in Pope, and where he has gone more out of his way to show it, occurs in his note to the 450th verse of his translation of the ninth book of the Iliad. A strong instance of the contrary disposition in Homer, with proof

CHAP. II. widely differing from what prevails in distant climates and distant ages, we yet find in general the most perfect decency, and even elegance of manners, in Homer's descriptions of the intercourse of men and women. Helen's conversations on the walls of Troy, in the Iliad, and in her court at Sparta, in the Odyssey, afford eminent examples. One office of civility indeed, which we find in the heroic age usually assigned to women, may excite our wonder: the business of attending men in bathing seems to have been peculiar to women; and, in compliment to men of rank, was the office of virgins of the highest rank. When Telemachus visited Nestor at Pylus, the office of washing and clothing him was assigned to the beautiful Polycaste, the virgin daughter of the venerable monarch. When Ulysses appeared as an unknown stranger in his own palace, the queen Penelope, uninformed who or what he was, merely in pursuance of the common ceremonies of hospitality, directed her young maids to attend him to the bath. Ulysses

that it remained to him in blindness, and probably in old age, appears in a beautiful and affecting address to the virgins who attended the festival at Delos, for which the Hymn to Apollo has been composed; and the passage is authenticated by Thucydides;

Χαίρετε δ' ὑμεῖς πᾶσαι ἐμεῖο δὲ καὶ μετόπισθε
Μνήσασθ', διπότε κέν τις ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων
Ἐνθάδ', ἀνείρηται ξεῖνος ταλαπέριος ἐλθὼν,
Ω κοῦραι, τίς δ' ὅμμιν ἀνήρ ἥδιστος ἀοιδῶν
Ἐνθάδε πωλεῖται, καὶ τέφ τέρπεσθε μάλιστα;
Τμεῖς δὲ εὖ μάλα πᾶσαι ὑποκρίνασθε ἀφῆμας,
Τυφλὸς αὐτῷ, οἴκεῖ δε Χίῳ ἐνὶ παιπαλοέσση.

Thucyd. I. 3. c. 104.

' Virgins, joy attend you all! Remember me hereafter: and
' when any stranger from afar coming here shall ask, *O Virgins,*
' *who is the sweetest poet that attends your festival, and with*
' *whom are you most delighted?* do you all kindly answer, with
' one applauding voice, *Our favorite is the Blind Man, who*
' *lives in rocky Chios.*'

refused the honor, and desired an old woman; but Odys. l. 19.v. 317.
the poet seems to have thought it requisite that he should apologise very particularly for such a singularity. Repugnant as these circumstances appear to common notions of eastern jealousy, yet customs not absolutely dissimilar are still found among the Arabs. Indeed the general sentiments of the Turks toward the female sex are a strange compound of the grossest sensuality with the most scrupulous decency. For the credit of Homer and of his age it should be observed, that, among all his variety of pictures of human passion, not a hint occurs of that unnatural sensuality which afterward so disgraced Grecian and not less Roman manners.

Ives's
Journey
across the
Desert.
Porter's
Observa-
tions on the
Religion,
Laws, &c. of
the Turks.

It was customary in the heroic age, as indeed at all times in Greece, for ladies of highest rank to employ themselves in spinning and needlework, and in at least directing the business of the loom; which was carried on, as till lately in the highlands of Scotland, and among the yeomanry in many parts of England, by every family, or its servants, for itself. It was praise equally for a slave and a princess to be skilful in works of this kind. In Homer's time washing also was employment for ladies. The princess Nausicaa, the young and beautiful daughter of the opulent king of Phœacia, a country famed more for luxury than industry, went with her maids, in a carriage drawn by mules, to a fountain in a sequestered spot at some distance from the city, to wash the clothes of the family.

It is matter of no small curiosity to compare the manners and principles of the heroic age of Greece with those of our Teutonic ancestors. Among strong lines of resemblance are strong characteristical touches by which they stand distinguished. Greece was a country holding out to its possessors every delight of

CHAP. II. which humanity is capable; but where, through the inefficiency of law, the instability of governments, and the character of the times, happiness was extremely precarious, and the change frequent from the height of bliss to the depth of misery. Hence rather than from his natural temper, Homer seems to have derived a melancholy tinge widely diffused over his poems.⁸⁴ He frequently adverts in general reflections to the miseries of mankind. That earth nourishes no animal more miserable than man, is a remark which he puts into the mouth of Jupiter himself. His common epithet for war and battle is ‘tearful.’⁸⁵ With the northern bards, on the contrary, war and battle were subjects of highest joy and merriment: and this idea was supported in fact, we are assured, to a very extraordinary degree. Yet there was more generosity and less cruelty in the Gothic spirit of war than in the Grecian. Whence this arose; what circumstances gave the weaker sex so much more consequence among the Teutonic nations than among the Greeks; how the spirit of gallantry, so little known to this elegant and polished people, should arise and gain such universal influence among the fierce unlettered savages of the north—that gallantry which, with many fantastical and some mischievous effects, has produced many highly salutary and honorable to mankind—will probably ever remain equally a mystery in the history of man, as why perfection in the sciences and every elegant art should be confined to the little territory of Greece, and to those nations which have derived it thence.

⁸⁴ See particularly in the Odyssey, b. 4. v. 93. b. 8. v. 523. b. 11. v. 620. b. 18. v. 129.

⁸⁵ Πόλεμος δακρυόεις, Iliad. 1. 8. v. 388.

Μάχη δακρυόεσσα, Iliad. 1. 13. v. 765.

Iliad.
l. 17.
v. 447.

Mallet's
Northern
Antiquities.

Robertson's
Charles V.

CHAPTER III.

History of Greece from the Trojan war to the return of the Heraclidæ; and of the Grecian Oracles, the council of Amphictyons, and the Olympian Games.

SECTION I.

Restoration of Orestes to the throne of Argos. Conquest of Peloponnesus by the Darians under the Heraclidæ, commonly called the return of the Heraclidæ. Distinction of the Greek nation into Ionic, Æolic, Attic, Doric.

TAKING Homer as our faithful guide for the history of this early age, it seems that no great revolution, nothing of any extensive consequence, happened in Greece after the troubles ensuing from the Trojan war had subsided to the time when he composed his poems. The most important events which he has recorded, posterior to the return of the Greeks from Troy, relate to the kingdom of Argos. Orestes, son of Agamemnon, after living in exile at Athens seven years, in the eighth found means to revenge his father's death and recover his inheritance. Killing the usurper Ægisthus, and his guilty mother Clytemnestra perishing in the tumult, he acquired the throne of Argos, and reigned with great reputation. Here the history of Homer ends; and the manner in which these events are mentioned by him appears strongly to indicate that the period of his life would not admit of his tracing history much farther.¹

SECT. I.

Odyssey,
l. 1. v. 29.& 298.l. 3. v. 196.& 303. &l. 24. v. 33.

¹ His residence, after he was become blind, as he says himself in those lines of the hymn to Apollo which have the testimony

Thucyd.
I. 1. c. 12.

Strabo,
I. 9. p. 427.

It was, according to Thucydides, (whose simple affirmation carries more authority than that of any other writer, and upon this occasion has been universally followed,) about eighty years after the destruction of Troy that a great revolution happened, which changed the population of a large part of Greece, and, in its consequences, that of a long extent of the western coast of Lesser Asia. The children and partizans of the great Hercules had been invited from Athens, their first place of refuge from the persecution of Eurystheus king of Argos, to settle in Doris. Æpalius, chief of that mountainous province, in gratitude for important favors received from Hercules, is said to have adopted Hyllus, eldest son of that hero by Dejanira daughter of Cœneus king of Ætolia, and to have bequeathed his principality to him. Thus fortunately raised from the condition of suppliant exiles to that of sovereign princes, the posterity of Hercules were not satisfied with a scanty command over herdmen among the wilds of Cœta and Parnassus. Esteeming themselves direct heirs of the family of Perseus, they never ceased to claim the dominion of Peloponnesus, and particularly of Argos, of which the superior policy and fortune of the family of Pelops had deprived them. Twice, penetrating through the isthmus, they were compelled to retreat with loss. But at length Temenus, Cresphontes, and

of Thucydides to their authenticity, was in the island of Chios.

Thucyd. I. 3. c. 104.

For myself I am satisfied with the authority of Thucydides for attributing to Homer this passage at least of the ode to Ceres. I cannot indeed but think that too much weight has been attributed by some very learned and most respectable critics to one, two, or let it be many words, introduced in a poem of an age previous to the ordinary use of writing, as proof of its being altogether of another age or another author.

Aristodemus, said to be great-grandsons of Hyllus, B. C.
 associating Oxylus, an Ætolian chieftain, their kins- 824. N.
 man, crossed the Corinthian gulf from Naupactus 1104. B.
 at the head of an army, with which, excepting the Herodot.
 mountainous province of Arcadia, they overran the 1. 9. c. 26.
 whole peninsula. Tisamenus, son of Orestes, forced Plat. de
 from Argolis and Laconia, made however a stand in Leg. 1. 3.
 Ægialea; and maintaining himself there, the coun- p. 683. t. 2.
 try acquired from his followers the name of Achaia. Pausan.
 Of the rest the Heraclidæ became complete masters. 1. 2. c. 18.
 Temenus took possession of Argos; Cresphontes of Herodot.
 Messenia; and Aristodemus dying, his twin-sons 1. 6. c. 52.
 Eurysthenes and Procles jointly reigned in Lace- Polyb.
 dæmon; Corinth was given to Aletes, also a de- 1. 2. p. 178.
 scendant of Hercules; and Elis was allotted to Oxylus. Strabo,
 Sicyon and Phlius were afterward added to the Argive 1. 8. p. 383.
 dominion; the former by Phalces, son of Temenus, & 13. Pausan.
 the other by Rhegnidas, son of Phalces.

Of the particulars of this important revolution, the struggles likely to be maintained by princes so established in their possessions as the Pelopidæ, and so connected by various ties of consanguinity and political interest, or the causes why little struggle was made, scarcely any information remains. It appears indeed that the Heraclidean chiefs had interest within the peninsula: for, according to Strabo, Laconia was betrayed to them. They seem also in their outset to have judiciously disclaimed all hostile intention against the people, professing that their aim was only to recover their rights from princes who had usurped them. Farther than this even Pausanias was unable to gather. Nor are we more informed of the time employed in the conquest. But that the conquest was in the end complete, and that a revolution took place, not only in the government, but in the population also of the

CHAP. whole peninsula, except Arcadia, are facts amply
III. authenticated. As soon as the division of the con-
Plat. de
Leg. I. 3.
p. 683. t. 2. quered country was agreed upon, the Heraclidean
 princes, binding themselves by solemn oaths mutually
 to support one another in their respective allotments,
 exacted engagements upon oath to the same pur-
 pose from all their subjects. But their Dorian and
 Ætolian followers had not conquered rich and ex-
 tensive provinces for others, to return themselves to
 their pristine poverty upon their native mountains.
 It would be a necessary policy to reward them with
 establishments in the newly acquired territories. A
 general oppression of the old inhabitants followed:
 great numbers emigrated; the rest were mostly re-
 duced to slavery; and in the end the Heraclidæ and
 their immediate partizans remained sole lords of the
 soil throughout Peloponnesus, excepting Arcadia and
 Achaia.

Isocrat.
Panathen.

This great change in the population of Greece, and the importance which the Dorian name acquired by it, among other consequences occasioned a new distinction of the Grecian people, and brought forward to public attention some old ones which in the time of Homer and Hesiod appear to have been little noticed. Concerning the hordes who in earliest times occupied Greece under various names, Dryopes, Caucones, Aones, Leleges, Pelasgians, and others, the diligent and judicious Strabo seems to have been unable to discover how far they were different people. & 322. 1. 9. p. 401. They seem all to have spoken one language; for in the civilized ages no trace or memory of a dialect not Grecian was to be found in any the most mountainous part of the country. They appear also to have been much intermixed; but the Pelasgian name prevailed on the continent, and the Lelegian in the

Strabo,
1. 5. p. 220.
1. 7. p. 321.
& 322.
1. 9. p. 401.

islands, the former including at one time, as Herodotus assures us, all people of Grecian race. The Athenians and Arcadians, in whose country, within reach of tradition, there had never been any complete change of population, continued always to refer their origin, in part at least, to the Pelasgians. Revolutions, depriving the other Greeks of means to trace their ancestry so high, gave them at the same time new eras whence to begin their account of themselves, in consequence of which the old fell more readily into oblivion. The Pelasgian name thus grew obsolete at an early period, and the Greek nation became distinguished into two hordes, called Ionian and Æolian. Yet neither have we any certain information how this distinction arose; though tradition mentions Æolus and Dorus, sons of Hellen, the son of Deucalion, and Ion and Achæus, sons of Zuthus, another son of Hellen, as the patriarchs of the Grecian people, from whom the appellations of their principal divisions were derived. The history of these princes however is uncertain in extreme; and tradition of better authority gives reason to suppose that the appellations had another and an earlier origin. Before the return of the Heraclidæ the Achæan name was common to all the Peloponnesians. The Ionian name had been still more comprehensive; including the Achæans and the Bœotians, who, together with those to whom it was afterward confined, would make nearly the whole of the Greek nation; and among the Orientals Ionian was always the general name for the Greeks.

But whatever may have been originally the distinction of the Grecian hordes, it became, in the course of ages, more than nominal; since, though their settlements were intermixed, and their language

Homer.
& Plat. de
Leg. 1. 3.
p. 684.
Hesych. ad
voc. "Iωνες
& "Ιαννα.

Herodot.
1. 7. c. 95.

1. 1. c. 56.
& 1. 8.
c. 44.

Strabo, 1. 8.
p. 333.

1. 8. p. 383.

Herodot.
1. 1. c. 56. &
1. 7. c. 94.

CHAP. III. fundamentally one, each people preserved its peculiar dialect. Attica was considered as the original settlement of the Ionians: its ancient inhabitants were usually distinguished by that name; and the country was called Ionia. Colonies migrating thence into Peloponnesus occupied the province afterward named Achaia, but previously *Ægialos* and *Ægialea*; and the Ionian colonists were called *Ægialean Pelasgians*. The people of the rest of Greece, within and without the isthmus, were esteemed of the *Æolian* horde: yet, according to Pausanias, the dialect of Argos before the return of the Heraclidæ was the same as the ancient Attic. Of the farther division, of the Grecian people, which afterward arose, we have from Strabo, 1. 8. Strabo a clear account. The inhabitants of the mountainous tract about Parnassus, under the name of Dorians, who, according to Herodotus, had migrated thither from Thessaly, were, like the ancient Atticans, from the barrenness of their country and their consequent poverty, little subject to invasion; and thus, while the other *Æolians* from their frequent revolutions and intermixture with foreigners acquired a new dialect, the Dorians alone retained their manners and language unaltered. When under the Heraclidæ they became masters of Peloponnesus, the former inhabitants were mostly either expelled or reduced to slavery; excepting those who under Tisamenus maintained themselves in Achaia, and the Arcadians, who with their mountains preserved their freedom. The exiles passed to Asia Minor; and overpowering there the Asiatics, as they had been themselves overpowered by the Dorians, they established colonies all along the western coast of that country. Four distinctions of the Grecian people now arose out of the original two. The Dorian name prevailed in all the establish-

Hom. Il. 1. 2. v. 575.

Herodot. 1. 7. c. 94.

Pausan. 1. 2. c. 37.

Strabo. 1. 8. p. 383.

Herodot. 1. 1. c. 56.

Isocrat. Panathen. Strab. 1. 8. p. 364. 365.

Strabo, 1. 8. p. 333.

ments of the Heraclidæ, and was preserved by all the colonies founded by their descendants, in Asia, Italy, Sicily, and wheresoever else. The Athenians also rose to such preeminence above all other people of Ionian race that their name likewise prevailed over that of their horde; and thus the two original dialects of the Grecian language acquired the new names of Doric and Attic, while the two other principal dialects, which various circumstances had contributed to alter, retained the ancient appellations of Æolic and Ionic. But all the Greeks without the isthmus, except the Athenians and Megarians, claimed Æolian origin. The Megarians, though of Æolian race, yet being a Dorian colony from Peloponnesus, chose to retain the distinction of the Doric name. The Ionian name was rejected in Greece, and retained only by those Ionians who migrated into Asia and the islands; and to them the dialect called Ionic was peculiar.

Strabo, 1. 8.
p. 392, 393.

Herodot.
1. 1. c. 143.

SECTION II.

Origin and progress of oracles.

The history of a people divided like the Greeks into many little states, each exercising complete sovereignty within its own territory, cannot be traced in so connected a manner as that of those nations whose parts are united under one system of government. Historians have therefore found it convenient, after giving a summary account of the remoter ages, to select two commonwealths, Athens and Lacedæmon, as main channels in which their narrative should run; contenting themselves with but occasionally relating the more important transactions of the rest. While the same method is followed here, equally from necessity and choice, the

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business of the historian, it should seem, were very incompletely executed, should he omit to investigate with some accuracy the circumstances which principally contributed to keep so many independent and eternally warring states, without any express league, and often without any very obvious common interest, still in some measure united, still always to esteem themselves one people, so as to acquire (for they had them not in the early periods of their history) singularly strong lines of distinction from all the rest of mankind.

Though among the consequences of the great revolution effected by the Heraclidæ a separation in national pride, opposition in national prejudices, and even national antipathies might be liable to arise among the Grecian people, the Dorians yet fortunately brought with them from their former country habits, opinions, and attachments, not only tending to correct the mischievous effects of political jealousies among the several independent states which they established in Peloponnesus, but also to preserve and even increase the intercourse, and strengthen the connexion, with the rest of Greece. The province of Doris was chiefly composed of the northern branches of the lofty ridge of Parnassus, at the southern end of which Delphi was situated. The oracle of that place had been increasing in reputation among the people of the neighbouring provinces; and it was not without the encouragement of some responses which admitted a favorable interpretation that the Heraclidæ had engaged in their enterprise. Their full success therefore could not fail to extend the fame and increase the credit of the oracle. The great bond indeed that first united, and afterward for ages principally held the Greeks together, was their religion:

Plat. de
Leg. l. 3.
p. 686.

of the early state of which, and some principal circumstances in its rise and progress from among those which can be sufficiently ascertained for history, it has been already endeavoured to give an account. Some inquiry will now be necessary concerning those reputed means of regular communication with the deity, less known in earlier times, but which, in the period to which we are approaching, became political engines of singular force, and had their effect on almost every important occurrence. It were indeed a very vain attempt to pursue through all its intricacies the history of institutions founded upon ignorance and raised by deceit at an age far beyond the reach of written memorials, and ever afterward, during their existence through many centuries, covered from common observation with the utmost caution of interested ingenuity favored by political power. But as the subject is both curious in itself, and important to the history before us, it shall be endeavoured here to reduce under one point of view what can be collected from ancient writers, principally tending to illustrate the early circumstances of oracles.

Superstition was formed into a system in Egypt at an age prior to our first accounts of it. Vast temples were built, innumerable ceremonies established; the same body, forming the hereditary priesthood and the nobility of the nation, directed with a high hand the belief and consciences of the people; and prophecy was not only among their pretensions, but perhaps the most indispensable part of their office. We have already had occasion to remark how usual it was with the Phenician traders, then the general carriers of the Mediterranean, to steal women. It happened Herodot. l. 2. c. 24. that the master of a Phenician vessel carried off a

CHAP. III. woman-attendant of the temple of Jupiter at Thebes on the Nile, and sold her in Thesprotia, a mountainous tract in the north-western part of Epirus, bordering on the Illyrian hordes. Reduced thus unhappily to slavery among barbarians, the woman however soon became sensible of the superiority which her education in a more civilized country gave her over them; and she conceived hopes of mending her condition by practising upon their ignorance what she had acquired of those arts which, in able hands, imposed upon a more enlightened people. She gave out that she possessed all the powers of prophecy to which the Egyptian priests pretended, that she could discover present secrets, and foretel future events. Her pretensions excited curiosity: she chose her station under the shade of a spreading oak, where, in the name of the god called by the Greeks Zeus, by the Romans Jupiter, she delivered answers to numbers who came to consult her; and shortly her reputation as a prophetess extended as far as the people of the country themselves communicated. These simple circumstances of her story were afterward, according to the genius of those ages, turned into fable, told in the time of Herodotus by the Dodonæan priests. A black pigeon, they said, flew from Thebes in Egypt to Dodona; and, perching upon an oak, proclaimed with human voice, ‘That an oracle of ‘Jupiter should be established there.’² The Dodonæans, concluding that a divinity spoke through the

² Homer, (Odyss. l. 14. v. 328. and l. 19. v. 297.) Æschylus, (Prometh. Vinct. v. 827.) Plato, (Phædrus, p. 275. t. 3.) and Strabo (l. 5. p. 328.) call the prophetic tree Δρῦς.—Hesiod, (as quoted by the Scholiast upon the Trachiniæ of Sophocles, v. 1174.) Herodotus, (l. 2. c. 55.) and Lucian (Dial. Micyll. & Gall.) call it Φηγός. I do not suppose any contradiction between them;

agency of the pigeon, obeyed the mandate, and the oracle was established. The historian accounts for the fiction thus: The woman on her arrival speaking in a foreign dialect, the Dodonæans said she spoke like a pigeon; but afterward, when she had acquired the Grecian speech and accent, they said the pigeon, who from her darker complexion was called the black pigeon, now spoke with a human voice. The trade of prophecy being both easy and lucrative, the office of the prophetess was readily supplied both with associates and successors. A temple for the deity and habitations for his ministers were built: and thus, according to the evidently honest, and apparently well-founded and judicious account of Herodotus, arose the oracle of Jupiter at Dodona, the very place where tradition, still remaining to the days of that writer, testified that sacrifices had formerly been performed only to the Nameless God.

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In consequence probably of the success of Dodona, oracles were in remote ages attempted in various places.³ Olympia, according to Strabo,

Strabo,
l. 8. p. 353.

because I take Δρῦς to have been a generic name, and Φηγὸς a species. See note 8. in the first section of the first chapter of this History.

³ The learned M. Hardion, in his first Dissertation on the Oracle of Delphi, (*Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscript.*) undertakes to prove from Herodotus himself, that Herodotus is wrong in asserting the Dodonæan oracle to have been the oldest in Greece. But the whole of his argument rests on a supposition that the Pelasgians, founders of the Dodonæan oracle, originated from a handful of savages (*une poignée d'hommes, ou, pour mieux dire, des brutes*) first assembled under Pelasgus on the mountains of Arcadia, long after the establishment of the Delphian oracle. Nothing however in ancient Grecian tradition appears more certain than that the Pelasgian name and people had a very different origin; * nothing more uncertain than the time when

* Chap. 1. sect. 2. and 4. of this Hist.

CHAP. III. establishment of its games, was famous for the oracle of Olympian Jupiter; which however ceased at an early period. The pretension to the gift of prophecy, as a dispensation of the deity to certain individuals, being still lucrative, continued to be common; but it was often dangerous. For in gratifying one great man, though but by telling the simple truth, the ill-will of another, or perhaps of the multitude, was excited. Thus Homer represents the seer Calchas, a man of high rank, afraid to declare a truth which might offend Agamemnon; and we find in Euripides the reason expressly given for preferring local oracles: ‘Men are liable to be warped by fear, favor, or pity. ‘Prophecies should be delivered by Apollo alone, ‘who respects nobody.’ Whenever therefore means occurred for establishing the belief that a deity favored any particular spot with his peculiar grace and frequent presence, and would deign there to communicate with mortals who knew how duly to invoke him, priests and soothsayers would not neglect the opportunity. The delivery of the divine mandate no longer then depended on the credit of a single person, but a college of priests became its warrant; while the supposed sanctity of the place protected all within its precinct, and the number of the associated attendants added to the security of those engaged in any office of the prophetic function. Through such inducements many oracles were in early times established, the Delphian oracle was first established; and scarcely any thing more evidently fabulous than those reports of the early consultation of it, on whose authority M. Hardion has not scrupled to say, ‘il est INCONTESTABLE qu'il étoit établi même avant le ‘déluge de Deucalion.’ The first account of the consultation of the Delphian oracle to which Strabo seems to have given any credit was that of Homer, who mentions a response to Agamemnon before the Trojan war. Strab. l. 9. p. 417.

Iliad.
l. 1. v. 74.

Euripides,
Phœniss.
v. 971.

which, like Olympia, succeeded for a time, and decayed. But the oracle which held its reputation, and extended it, we may say, over the world, was Delphi. Of this celebrated place so many fables are related, some referred to times long before, according to any authentic account, an oracle existed in Greece, that the writer whose subject calls for some elucidation of the matter finds no small difficulty to determine what not to reject of all that has been said upon it. Indeed on this mythological ground, where even the antiquarian and the professed dissertator should tread with caution, the historian cannot but hesitate at every step. He will certainly not attempt to lead his reader a regular journey through it; but he may point out to him a few spots of the firmer soil, whence, without risk of material deception, some general idea may be formed of the whole.

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II.

On the southern side of mount Parnassus, within the western border of Phocis against Locris, and at no great distance from the seaport towns of Crissa and Cirrha, the mountain-crags form a natural amphitheatre, difficult of access; in the midst of which a deep cavern discharged, from a narrow orifice, a vapor powerfully affecting the brain of those who came within its influence. This, it is said, was first brought to public notice by a goatherd, whose goats browsing on the brink were thrown into singular convulsions; upon which the man going to the spot, and endeavouring to look into the chasm, became himself agitated like one frantic. These extraordinary circumstances were communicated through the neighbourhood; and the superstitious ignorance of the age immediately attributed them to a deity residing in the place. Frenzy of every kind, among the Greeks, even in more enlightened times, was

Strabo,
l. 9. p. 418.Strabo,
l. 9. p. 419.Diodor.
l. 16. c. 26.
Pausan.
l. 10. c. 5.
Schol. in
Plut. Aris-
toph. v. 9.

CHAP. III. supposed the effect of divine inspiration, and the incoherent speeches of the frantic were regarded as prophetical.⁴ A spot, to which herdmen only and their goats had hitherto been accustomed to climb over the rugged sides of the mountain, thus became an object of extensive curiosity: it was said to be the oracle of the goddess Earth; the rude inhabitants from all the neighbouring parts resorted to it for information concerning futurity; to obtain which any one of them inhaled the vapor, and whatever he uttered in the ensuing intoxication, intelligible or unintelligible, passed for prophecy.

But the function of prophet under these circumstances was not a little dangerous; for many through the superinduced giddiness fell into the cavern and were lost. An assembly of the neighbouring inhabitants was therefore convened; in which it was determined, that one person appointed by public authority should alone be permitted to receive the inspiration, and render the responses of the divinity; and that the security of the prophet should be provided for by a frame placed over the chasm, through which the maddening vapor might be inhaled with safety. A virgin was preferred for the saered office; and a frame was prepared, resting on three feet, whence it had the name of tripod. The place bore the name of Pytho, of uncertain origin, but attributed in aftertimes to some adventures of the gods there, which gave it a mystical dignity; and thence the title of Pythia or Pythoness became attached to

⁴ ‘Ut alia nos melius multa quam Græci, sic huic præstans-tissimæ rei (divinationi) nomen nostri a divis, Græci, ut Plato interpretatur (in Phædro), a furore duxerunt.’ M. T. Cic. de divin. l. 1. s. 1.

the prophetess. To obtain the inspiration which, it was supposed, not only enabled, but forced her to reveal the will of the divinity, the Pythoness was placed on the tripod. A sacred estimation thus became attached to the form of that machine; insomuch that thence, according to Diodorus, arose the partiality which induced, not the Greeks only, but the Romans after them, to prefer it to every utensil to which it could be applied, whether for sacred or domestic purposes.

The importance of the oracle being increased by this interference of public authority, a farther establishment became necessary. A rude temple was built over the cavern; priests were appointed and habitations provided for them; ceremonies were prescribed, sacrifices were performed. A revenue thus became necessary. All therefore who would consult the oracle must come with offerings in their hands. The reputation of the place then no longer depended simply on the superstition of the people: the interest of the priests became its guardian. Hence, according to probable conjecture, the change of divinities supposed to preside at Delphi. The profits produced by the prophetic abilities of the goddess Earth beginning to fail, it was asserted that the god Neptune was associated with her in the oracle. After this the goddess Themis was said to have succeeded her mother Earth in the inheritance. Still new incentives to public credulity and curiosity became necessary. If the attempt to sift fact from fable may in any case be allowed to the historian, the hymn to Apollo, already quoted, seems to offer so probable an account of the next and final change in the property of this celebrated place that it may demand notice here.

Dissert.
sur l'Oracle
de Delphes,
par M.
Hardion.

Pausan.
l. 10. c. 5.
Æschyl.
Eumen.init.

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Apollo was a deity of great reputation in the islands and in Lesser Asia, but hitherto of little fame on the continent of Greece, when a vessel from Gnossus in Crete came to the port of Crissa; and the crew landing proceeded immediately up the neighbouring mountain Parnassus to Delphi. Presently a wonderful story was circulated, ‘That this vessel, being bound to Pylus on the coast of Messenia, had been forced by a preternatural power beyond that port, and, while the astonished crew were perfectly passive, had been conducted with surprising exactness and expedition to Crissa; that a dolphin of uncommon magnitude had accompanied the vessel, apparently with authority, and on arrival at Crissa discovered himself to the crew to be the great and beneficent god Apollo, ordering them at the same time to follow him to Delphi, where they should become his ministers.’ The project succeeded beyond expectation. Sacrifices and petitions to Themis and Neptune had plainly for some time been wrong: Apollo was now the presiding power of the place; and under this god, through the skill of his new ministers, (for Crete, as we have seen, was earlier civilized, and had probably more intercourse with Egypt than the rest of Greece,) the oracle recovered and increased its reputation. Delphi, which had the advantage of being really near the centre of Greece, was reported to be the centre of the world: miracles were invented to prove so important a circumstance; and Navel of the Earth was among the titles which it acquired.⁵ Perhaps at

⁵ Strabo, l. 9. p. 419. Bryant has accounted for this title ingeniously, and perhaps justly, in his Analysis of Ancient Mythology, vol. 1. p. 240.

this time the Pythian games had their origin, in the SECT. prize offered for a hymn in honor of Apollo, to be ^{II.} performed by the voice accompanied by the cithara. The first victor, Pausanias informs us, was a Cretan. ^{Pausan.} It was not till some ages after that athletic exercises ^{1. 10. c. 7.} were introduced, in imitation of the Olympian.

Delphi however, prospering through its oracle, became early a considerable town. Situate among barren mountain-crags, the rich vale of Crissa was at hand for its supply; the Bœotian plain was not far distant; and the neighbourhood of the sea was a great additional convenience. Before Homer's time, if we may credit the hymn to Apollo, the temple of that deity was built of stone with some magnificence. But the Dorian conquest seems to have been the fortunate circumstance that principally spread its fame and enlarged its influence; which quickly so extended that nothing of moment within Greece was undertaken by states, or even by private persons who could afford the expense, without first consulting the oracle of Delphi: particularly in circumstances of doubt, anxiety, and distress Delphi was the refuge. A present upon these occasions was always necessary; and princes and opulent persons endeavoured to conciliate the favor of the deity by offerings of great value. Afterward vanity came in aid to superstition, in bringing riches to the temple. The names of those who made considerable presents were always registered: and when statues, tripods, or other ornaments of valuable materials or elegant workmanship, were given, they were publicly exhibited in honor of the donor.

But the wealth and growing estimation of Delphi had also another source, of which information remains only so far as to assure us of the fact with far

CHAP. less explanation of circumstances than for its importance might be desired. In the general insecurity of property in the early ages, and especially in Greece, it was highly desirable to convert all that could be spared from immediate use into that which might most easily be removed from approaching danger. By a compact understood among men, with this view the precious metals appear to have obtained their early estimation. Gold then and silver having acquired their certain value as signs of wealth, a deposit secure against the dangers continually threatening, not individuals only, but every town and state in Greece, would be a great object of the wealthy. Such security offered nowhere in equal amount as in those temples, which belonged not to any single state, but were respected by the common religion of the nation. The priesthood, not likely to refuse the charge, would have a large interest in acquiring the reputation of fidelity to it. Thus Delphi appears to have become the great bank of Greece; perhaps before Homer, in whose time its riches seem to have been already proverbial. Such then was found the value of this institution that when the Dorian conquest drove so large a part of the Greek nation into exile, the fugitives, who acquired new settlements in Asia, established there their own national bank in the manner of that of their former country, recommending it to the protection of the same divinity. The temple of Apollo at Branchidæ became the great depository of the wealth of Ionia.

Herodot.
I. 5. c. 36.

Diod. Sic.
I. 16. c. 26.

Of the management of the prophetic business of Delphi some information remains, bearing the appearance of authenticity. The Pythoness was chosen from among mountain-cottagers, the most unacquainted with mankind that could be found. It was always

required that she should be a virgin, and originally SECT.
II. she was taken very young. The purity of virgin innocence, to which the Greeks always attached an idea of mysterious sanctity, made a girl most fit, in vulgar opinion, to receive the influence of the God; and ignorance, which evinced purity of mind, was at the same time very commodious for the purposes of the priests. Once appointed, she was never to quit the temple. But unfortunately it happened that one Diod. Sic.
l. 16. c. 26. Pythoness made her escape: her singular beauty enamoured a young Thessalian, who succeeded in the hazardous attempt to carry her off. It was afterward decreed that no Pythoness should be appointed under fifty years of age; but that in simplicity she should still be the nearest possible to a child, and that even the dress appropriated to girls should be preserved to her. The office of Pythoness appears not to have been desirable. Either the emanation from the cavern, or some art of the managers, threw her into real convulsions. Priests, entitled prophets, led her to the sacred tripod, force being often necessary for the purpose, and held her on it till her frenzy rose to whatever pitch was in their judgment most fit for the occasion. To secure themselves was not difficult; because those noxious vapors, which have been observed in caverns in various parts of the world, are so much specifically heavier than the wholesome air that they never rise above a certain height.⁶ But Pythonesses are said to have expired almost immediately after quitting the tripod, and even on the tripod. The broken accents which the wretch uttered in her agony were collected and arranged by the prophets, and then promulgated, till a late period

Plutarch.
de Defect.
Orac.
Lucan.
Pharsal.
l. 5. v. 116.
Strabo,
l. 9. p. 419.

⁶ See Bergman's Physical and Chemical Essays, in Cullen's Translation, v. 1. p. 83.

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III. always in verse, as the answer of the god. There were however a few days only in the year on which the god might be interrogated; and those variable within the power of the priests. Previous sacrifices were moreover necessary; and if the victims were not favorable the Pythoness would in vain solicit inspiration. Thus the priests had it always in their power to deny answers, to delay answers, or to give answers direct, doubtful, or unintelligible, as they judged most advantageous for the credit of the oracle. With frequent opportunities therefore of arrogating the merit of true prophecy, the risk of being convicted of false was generally avoided; though such misfortune happened to many oracles less ably conducted, to the no small advantage of Delphi, which thence acquired the reputation, transmitted in words not advantageous to the general character of those fixed seats of prophecy, that it was the least fallacious of all oracles. But if princes or great men applied in a proper manner for the sanction of the god to any undertaking, they seldom failed to receive it in direct terms, provided the reputation of the oracle for truth was not liable to immediate danger from the event.

SECTION III.

Of the origin and constitution of the council of Amphictyons.

When the Delphian sanctuary had acquired such extensive importance, the wealth accumulated there offered a tempting prey to the unscrupulous among the leaders of the numerous states around composed entirely of a military people. The charge then became too great to be trusted wholly to the Delphian citizens, or even to the united government of the

Strabo,
l. 9. p. 419.

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Phocian people. What indeed in early times that government was, we have no information. At a later period the Phocians were divided into no less than two-and-twenty village states, nearly independent. But, among the dark confusion and fanciful falsehood of ancient tradition, large assurance remains that the people inhabiting to the northward of mount Oeta, and along the coast of the Ægean sea eastward as far as the Hellespont, were in early times more enlightened than the southern Greeks; who in after ages acknowledged, as already has been observed, obligation to instructors from that country in religion, morality, legislation, and their vehicles music and poetry. It appears farther that the numerous barbarians of the extensive inland country, continually harassing the more civilized inhabitants of the coast, drove some to seek securer settlements elsewhere; and, by preventing the cultivation of the arts of peace, reduced the rest to become barbarians like themselves. Greece possessed advantageous barriers against these evils in its several ranges of almost impassable mountains stretching across the country from sea to sea. The southern parts therefore, with the islands, afforded refuge for those inhabitants of the northern coast who had means of transporting themselves, and effects to subsist on: and Thrace thus shared with Egypt and Phenicia in the honor of civilizing Greece. But Thessaly, bordering on the barbarian hordes, and by the fruitfulness of its soil singularly tempting invasion, was in elder times peculiarly subject to revolutions. Yet among the uncertain and romantic traditions remaining to us concerning Thessaly also there appears good foundation for belief, that it was, at a very early period, governed by princes more powerful and

Ch. I. s. 4.
of this Hist.

CHAP. III. more informed than their contemporaries of southern Greece. Among these the name of Deucalion is famous. But whatever truth or whatever error of tradition may have mixed that name with the circumstances of a deluge, and whether the deluge was that which destroyed the whole world, or one which wasted only a part of Greece, there seems sufficient evidence to the existence of a king of Thessaly of the name, a principal potentate of his time. His dominion is said on his death to have been divided between his sons; the country northward of the pass of Thermopylæ forming a kingdom under Hellen, and the country southward another under Amphictyon, who afterward added to it the province of Attica. Both these princes were of great fame, but very uncertain history. From Hellen is said to have originated the name Hellenes, the general denomination by which the Greeks of after-ages designated themselves. To Amphictyon is attributed the institution of the council of Amphictyons, which, defective and obscure as remaining accounts of it are, will demand some attention.⁷

⁷ In Homer's time no common name for all the Greeks had obtained general acceptance. In the want of such we find him evidently at a loss. But in the 37th line of his Catalogue he plainly means to include the whole nation under the two names PANHELLENES and ACHAIOI; the former seemingly intended for the northern Greeks, the latter for the southern. Thus also in the Odyssey he apparently intends the northern division of the country by the name HELLAS, and the southern by the name ARGOS,* where under the two he means evidently to include the whole of Greece. The appellation DANAOI appears to mark the southern Greeks only, or however chiefly. Strabo tells us,† that Argos was anciently a name including all Peloponnesus; that the epithet Achaic, used by Homer, was derived from the

* Odys. l. 1. v. 344. l. 4. v. 726. & 816. & l. 15. v. 80.

† l. 7. p. 365. l. 8. p. 371.

Ages before letters began to record the transactions of the Greeks a regular establishment had been made of an assembly of deputies from the provinces northward and southward of mount CEta, to consult on the common interests of their constituents. Their ordinary place of meeting was a temple dedicated to the goddess Ceres, near the mouth of the river Asopus, at that pass of Thermopylæ, afterward so famous. These deputies bore the title of Amphictyons, it is said, from the founder of the institution.⁸

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Strabo attributes the regulations which became the basis of the constitution of this assembly to Acrisius king of Argos, grandfather of the hero Perseus; rejecting, as of no authority, all accounts of the assembly before the age of that prince. The conjectures of the Grecian chronologers, with which however the geographer shows himself every where little satisfied, placed Amphictyon a century and a half earlier than Acrisius. Sir Isaac Newton supposed them contemporary, and about a century older than the Trojan war. If we admit the English philosopher's chronology, the supposition of a league of the most powerful princes of the northern with the most powerful prince of the southern part of Greece will carry no apparent improbability; nor does it seem easy other-

Strabo,
l. 9. p. 420.

Newton's
Chron.
p. 12.14.17.
& 143.

Phthiot Achæans, who came into the peninsula with Pelops, and settled in Laconia; and that Danai was a name which the Peloponnesian Pelasgians received from the Egyptian Danaus.

⁸ It appears to have been the most received opinion of the most judicious antiquarians among the ancients, that the Amphictyonic council had its name from Amphictyon son of Deucalion, though the obvious application of the word, with a very small alteration, *Αμφικτίων*, as a description instead of an arbitrary appellation of the persons who composed the assembly, led some to suppose that this was the true name. Pausan. b. 10. c. 8.

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III. wise to account for the interference of a king of Argos, unmentioned by any tradition as a conqueror, in the regulation of an assembly of states at Thermopylæ.⁹ That a connexion, and a beneficial connexion, was formed, and that by some means the kings of Argos obtained a superiority, is amply indicated by Homer, in the ready acquiescence which he ascribes to all the Grecian chiefs, as far as the utmost bounds of Thessaly, under the authority of Agamemnon, and the acknowledgment of it even by the proud and powerful Achilles. Nevertheless from Homer we have no mention of the Amphictyonic council. Possibly and even probably it may have been the policy of the Pelopidean princes to repress its power, which had been favored by the Persidean line, whom they had expelled: and so in Homer's time it may have been insignificant and obscure. But in consequence of the revolution produced in Peloponnesus by the return of the Heraclidæ, and the equality asserted by the several princes who obtained settlements there, the power or influence which the Pelopidean princes, and especially Agamemnon, had held among the northern provinces, fell immediately: and the principal sway in the assembly, and the principal interest in supporting it, reverted again to Thessaly.

The constitution of this famous assembly, obscure in its origin through extreme antiquity, is not accurately known to us even in those ages from which we might expect accurate information. It appears

⁹ Sir Isaac Newton, as a matter of probability not resting on positive authority, supposes Amphictyon to have been the founder of the assembly at Thermopylæ, and Acrisius of that at Delphi. But we shall have occasion in the sequel to observe ground for assigning to the Delphic assembly, or more properly the Delphic session of the Amphictyons, a much later origin.

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however that every state of the Amphictyonic confederacy sent at least one representative, who bore the title of Pylagore.¹⁰ Each had an equal vote on every occasion in which the authority of the council was exerted: and no Amphictyon derived any legal privilege or authority from the rank or estimation which his constituents held among the Grecian states, but all were properly peers. The meeting was opened with solemn sacrifices to Ceres. Afterward an additional representative was sent by every state, with the different title of Hieromnemon, indicating that his office was more particularly to superintend the concerns of religion. The form of the Amphictyonic oath has been preserved to us; not that of the earliest times, but probably not very different in tenor. It ran thus: ‘I swear that I will never subvert any Amphictyonic city: I will never stop the courses of their water, either in war or peace. If any such outrages be attempted, I will oppose them by force of arms, and destroy those cities which are guilty of such attempt. If any devastations be committed in the territory of the god, if any shall be privy to such offence, or entertain any design against the temple, I will use my hands, my feet, my whole strength, to bring the offending party to condign punishment.’ An awful imprecation was subjoined: ‘If any shall violate any part of this solemn engage-

^{Aeschin.}
^{Or. de fals.}
^{Legat.}

¹⁰ What remains from ancient authors upon the subject has been largely collected by Dean Prideaux in his treatise on the Oxford Marbles, and Dr. Leland, in the preliminary discourse to his History of Philip king of Macedonia, has added what has been imagined by modern writers. In the sequel of this history occasion will occur to notice the connexion of the Amphictyonic council with the political interests of the country, as they arise; whence illustration may result, still imperfect, yet perhaps the best to be obtained.

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'ment, whether city, private person, or nation, may such violators be obnoxious to the vengeance of Apollo, Diana, Latona, and Minerva the Provident. 'May their land never produce its fruit: may their women never bring forth children of the same nature with the parents, but offspring unnatural and monstrous: may they be for ever defeated in war, in judicial controversies, and in all civil transactions; 'and may their families, and their whole race, be utterly destroyed: may they never offer an acceptable sacrifice to Apollo, Diana, Latona, and Minerva the Provident, but may all their sacred rites be for ever rejected.' The first part of this oath is pointed to what was really the most important business of the assembly, and which seems to have been with great wisdom and humanity proposed as the principal end of the institution, namely, the establishment and support of a kind of law of nations among the Greeks, that might check the violence of war among themselves, and finally prevent those horrors, that extremity of misery, which the barbarity of elder times usually made the lot of the vanquished. The view of the founders indeed evidently went farther; to bring all disputes between Amphictyonic states before this tribunal, and thus totally to stop war among them, or to punish it as private war and rebellion.¹¹ To this however, after the return of the Heraclidæ, amid the jealous claims of every Grecian city to absolute independency, the Amphictyonic council was never equal. Revolutions in early times reduced it to obscurity. Afterward the Delphian oracle and the Delphian treasure being committed

¹¹ Περὶ τῶν κοινῶν βουλευσόμενον——ἀποδεῖξαι τὰς Ἀμφικτυονικὰς δίκας ὅσαι πόλεσι πρὸς πόλεις εἰσίν. Strab. l. 9. p. 420.

to its superintendency, no small additional importance accrued to it. Nevertheless the members appear wisely to have avoided the attempt to exert an authority which they wanted power effectually to support. Contests between states were however always esteemed proper objects of its jurisdiction: but the superintendency of the religion of the Greek nation was more particularly its office. Its authority to fine any Amphictyonic state, and, in case of noncompliance with injunctions, even to levy forces, and to make war on the disobedient, was allowed. Of disputes between private persons it never condescended to take cognizance. Its proceedings were generally conducted with prudence and dignity; and its decrees, notwithstanding its deficiency of power, were highly respected.

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SECTION IV.

Early dissensions of the Heraclidean princes. Unsettled state of Peloponnesus. Origin of the Grecian games. Institution of the Olympian festival by Iphitus King of Elis.

The RETURN OF THE HERACLIDÆ, as the Dorian conquest is commonly termed by Grecian writers, produced a revolution in Peloponnesus so complete that, except in the rugged province of Arcadia, nothing remained unaltered. The Argive princes of the family of Pelops had acquired such superior power, and a legal preeminence which they claimed, in whatever way acquired, was so generally admitted, that under them one government in some degree pervaded, not the peninsula only, but all Greece: the administration of law gained consistency, civility advanced, and arts began to show themselves. But the Dorian conquest reduced Peloponnesus to that

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ruder state in which the new lords of the country had lived among their native mountains: arts and civility fled with the old inhabitants to flourish in another soil. The first care of the conquering chiefs was to secure their acquisitions against any attempts of the former possessors: their next seems to have been to prevent any one among themselves from acquiring that superiority over the rest which alone could ensure the quiet of all. In the very partition of the country a cause of future discord arose. Aristodemus died: his followers, to whom Laconia was allotted, thought they had an equal claim to the fairer portion of Messenia; a less mountainous and more generally fruitful country, of which they were deprived, as they supposed, only through the inability of their infant sovereigns, sons of their deceased leader, to assert their rights. The boundaries also of the several allotments were, in the haste of division, not every where accurately ascertained; and early disputes about these led to hostilities. Within the several governments moreover, for many years after so violent a revolution, the unsettled state of things would often call for the strong arm of power to repress outrage and enforce order. Violence would arise sometimes on the part of the princes; and a conquering people, rude, but high-spirited, was little disposed to admit patiently any exertion of authority not perfectly warranted by established custom. Thus in every state internal dissensions were seldom interrupted but by external war; and any long intermission of this the situation of Arcadia sufficed to prevent: sheltered by their mountains in their property and their freedom, the Arcadians, bordering upon all, were the natural enemies of all. Peloponnesus thus was relapsing into a state of anarchy

Pausan.
l. 4. c. 3.
Herodot.
l. 5. c. 52.

Thucyd.
l. 1. c. 13.
Plutarch.
Lycurg.

and barbarism like that in which it had existed before Pelops and Hercules.

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From very early times it had been customary among the Greeks to hold numerous meetings for purposes of festivity and social amusement. A foot-race, a wrestling match, or some other rude trial of bodily strength and activity, formed originally the principal entertainment, which seems to have been very similar in character to our country wakes. The almost ceaseless warfare among the little Grecian states gave especial value to military exercises, which were accordingly ordinary in those games. Esteem for cudgel-playing among us has arisen from a state of disturbance always formerly to be apprehended, though not so constantly actual as in elder Greece.

The connexion of these GAMES with the warlike character may have occasioned their introduction at funerals in honor of the dead; a custom which, we learn from Homer, was in his time ancient. But all the violence of the early ages was unable to repress that elegance of imagination which seems congenial to Greece. Very anciently a contention for a prize in poetry and music was a favorite entertainment of the Grecian people; and when connected, as it often was, with some ceremony of religion, drew together large assemblies of both sexes.¹² A festival of this kind in the little island of Delos, at which Homer assisted, brought a numerous concourse from different parts by sea; and Hesiod informs us of a splendid meeting for the celebration of various games at Chalcis in Eubœa, where himself obtained the prize for poetry

Iliad. I. 22.

v. 630.

Odyss.

I. 24. v. 87.

Hymn. ad

Apoll. apud

Thucyd.

I. 3. c. 104.

Xen. Mem.

Socr. I. 3.

c. 3. s. 12.

Hesiod.

Op. & Di.

I. 2. v. 272.

¹² - - - - 'Ελκεχίτωνες Ἰδοὺς ἡγερέθουται

Αὐτοῖς σὺν παιδεσσι καὶ αἰδοῖς ἀλόχοισιν.

Οἱ δέ σε πυγμαχήη τε καὶ ὁρχηθμῷ καὶ ἀοιδῇ

Μνησάμενοι τέρπουσιν, θταν στήσωνται ἀγῶνα.

Hymn. ad. Apoll. ap. Thucyd. I. 3. c. 104.

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and song. The contest in music and poetry seems early to have been particularly connected with the worship of Apollo. When this was carried from the islands of the Ægean to Delphi, a prize for poetry was instituted; and thence appear to have arisen the Pythian games. But Homer shows, that games, in which athletic exercises and music and dancing were alternately introduced, made a common amusement of the courts of princes; and before his time the manner of conducting them was so far reduced to a system that public judges of the games were of the established magistracy. Thus improved, the games greatly resembled the tilts and tournaments of the ages of chivalry. Men of high rank only presumed to engage in them: but a large concourse of all orders attended as spectators; and to keep regularity among these was perhaps the most necessary office of the judges. But the most solemn meetings, drawing together people of distinguished rank and character, often from distant parts, were at the funerals of eminent men. The paramount sovereigns of Peloponnesus did not disdain to attend these,¹³ which were celebrated with every circumstance of magnificence and splendor that the age could afford. The funeral of Patroclus, described in the Iliad, may be considered as an example of what the poet could imagine in its kind most complete. The games, in which prizes were there contended for, were the chariot-race, the foot-race, boxing, wrestling, throwing the quoit and the javelin, shooting with the bow,

¹³ Agamemnon speaks of having frequently attended such meetings:

'*Ηδη μὲν πολέων τάφῳ ἀνδρῶν ἀντεβόλησα
Ἡρών, ὅτε κέν ποτ', ἀποθιμένου βασιλῆος,
Ζώννυνται τε νέοι, καὶ ἐπεντύνονται κεθλα.*

and fencing with the spear. And in times when none could be rich or powerful but the strong and active, expert at martial exercises, all those trials of skill appear to have been esteemed equally becoming men of the highest rank; though it may seem, from the prizes offered and the persons contending at the funeral of Patroclus, the poet himself saw, in the game of the cæstus, some incongruity with exalted characters.

Traditions are preserved of Games celebrated in Elea, upon several great occasions, in very early times, with more than ordinary pomp by assemblies of chiefs from different parts of Greece. Homer mentions such at Elis under king Augeas, contemporary with Hercules, and grandfather of one of the chiefs who commanded the Elean troops in the Trojan war; and again at Buprasium in Elea, for the funeral of Amarynceus, while Nestor was yet in the vigor of youth. But it does not at all appear from Homer that in his time, or ever before him, any periodical festival was established like that which afterward became so famous, under the title of the Olympiad or the Olympian Contest, or, as our writers, translating the Latin phrase, have commonly termed it, the Olympian Games. On the contrary, every mention of such games, in his extant works, shows them to have been only occasional solemnities; and Strabo has remarked that they were distinguished by a characteristical difference from the Olympian. In these the honor derived from receiving publicly a crown or chaplet, formed of a branch of oleaster,¹⁴ was the only reward of the victor: but in Homer's games the prizes, not merely honorary, were intrinsically

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Iliad. l. 23.
v. 634.
Odyss.
l. 8. v. 120
& seq. &
205 & seq.

West on the
Olympic
Games.

Iliad. l. 11.
v. 697.

Iliad. l. 2.
v. 623.

I. 23. v. 629.

Strabo, l. 8.
p. 355.

¹⁴ Κοτίνου στέφανον. Aristoph. Plut. v. 586.

CHAP. III. valuable; and the value was often very considerable. After Homer's age, through the long troubles ensuing from the Dorian conquest, and the great change made in the population of the country, the customs and institutions of the Peloponnesians were so altered and overthrown that even memory of the ancient games was nearly lost.

Pausan.
1. 5. c. 8.

1. 5. c. 4.
Newton's
Chronol.

Pausan.
1. 5. c. 4.

In this season of turbulence and returning barbarism Iphitus, a descendant, probably grandson, of Oxylus, (though so deficient were the means of transmitting information to posterity that we have no assurance even of his father's name,) succeeded to the throne of Elis. This prince was of a genius that might have produced a more brilliant character in a more enlightened age, but which was perhaps more beneficial to mankind in the rough times in which he lived. Active and enterprising, but not by inclination a warrior, he was anxious to find a remedy for the disorderly situation of his country, and to restore that more improved state of things which, by the accounts of ancient people, once had being there, but now was only to be found beyond the bounds of Peloponnesus. Among all the violences of domestic feuds and foreign wars superstition maintained its dominion undiminished over the minds of the Peloponnesian Dorians: the oracle of Delphi was held in no less reverence by them than by their forefathers among the woods and crags of Parnassus. To that oracle therefore Iphitus looked for support in the project which he meditated. He sent a solemn embassy to Delphi to supplicate information from the deity of the place, ‘ How the anger of the gods, which threatened total destruction to Peloponnesus through endless hostilities among its people, might be averted?’ He received for answer, what himself, as a judicious

critic has observed, had probably suggested, ‘ That ^{West on the} Olympic festival must be restored: for the ^{Olympic Games.} neglect of that solemnity had brought on the Greeks the indignation of the god Jupiter, to whom it was dedicated, and of the hero Hercules, by whom it had been instituted: and that a cessation of arms must therefore immediately be proclaimed for all cities desirous of partaking in it.’¹⁵ This response of the god was promulgated throughout Greece; and Iphitus, in obedience to it, caused the armistice to be proclaimed. But the other Peloponnesians, full of respect for the authority of the oracle, yet uneasy at the ascendancy thus assumed by the Eleans, sent a common deputation to Delphi, to inquire concerning the authenticity of the divine mandate reported to them. The Pythoness however, seldom averse to authorize the schemes of kings and legislators, adhered to her former answer, and commanded the Peloponnesians ‘ to submit to the directions and authority of the Eleans, in ordering and establishing the ancient laws and customs of their forefathers.’

Supported thus by the oracle, and encouraged by the ready acquiescence of all the Peloponnesians, Iphitus proceeded to model his institution. Jupiter, the chief of the gods, being now the acknowledged patron of the plan, and the prince himself, under Apollo, the promulgator of his will, it was ordained that a festival should be held at the temple of Jupiter at Olympia, near the town of Pisa in Elea, open to the whole Greek nation; and that it should be re-

¹⁵ West’s dissertation on the Olympic Games has been here principally followed. It has been chiefly furnished by a fragment of Phlegon preserved in the Chronicon of Eusebius, but derives occasional support from Strabo, Pausanias, and other writers.

CHAP. III. peated at the termination of every fourth year : that this festival should consist in solemn sacrifices to Jupiter and Hercules, and in games celebrated to their honor : and as wars might often prevent not only individuals, but whole states, from partaking in the benefits with which the gods would reward those who properly shared in the solemnity, it was ordained under the same authority, that an armistice should take place throughout Greece for some time before the commencement of the festival, and continue for some time after its conclusion. For his own people, the Eleans, Iphitus procured an advantage never perhaps enjoyed in equal extent by any other people.

Strabo, 1. 8. A tradition was current that the Heraclidæ, on appointing Oxylus at the same time to the throne of Elis and to the guardianship of the temple of Olympian Jupiter, had consecrated all Elea to the god under sanction of an oath, and denounced the severest curses, not only on any who should invade it, but also on all who should not defend it against invaders. Iphitus procured universal acquiescence to the authority of this tradition ; and the deference of the Grecian people toward it, during many ages, is not among the least remarkable circumstances of Grecian history. A reputation of sacredness became attached to the whole Elean people as the hereditary priesthood of Jupiter, and a pointed difference in character and pursuits arose between them and the other Greeks. Little disposed to ambition, and regardless even of the pleasures of a town-life, their general turn was to rural business and rural amusements. Elsewhere the country was left to hinds and herdsmen, who were mostly slaves : men of property, for security as well as for pursuits of ambition and pleasure, resided in fortified towns. But the towns

p. 357. 358.

of Elea, Elis itself the capital, remained unfortified. In republican governments however civil contention would arise. Within a narrow territory the implication of domestic party-politics with foreign interests could not be entirely obviated; and thus foreign wars would ensue. But to the time of Polybius, who saw the liberty of Greece expire, the Eleans maintained their general character, and in a great degree their ancient privileges; whence they were then the wealthiest people of Peloponnesus, and yet the richest of them mostly resided upon their estates, and many, as that historian avers, without ever visiting Elis.

At the Olympian festival, as established by Iphitus, ^{Pausan.}
^{I. 5. c. 8.} the foot-race, distinguished by the name of Stadion, is said to have been the only game exhibited: whether the various other exercises familiar in Homer's age had fallen into oblivion, or the barbarism and poverty, superinduced by the violent and lasting troubles which followed the return of the Heraclidæ, forbade those of greater splendor. Afterward, as the growing importance of the meeting occasioned inquiry concerning what had been practised of old, or excited invention concerning what might be advantageously added new, the games were multiplied. The Diaulos, a more complicated foot-race, was added at the fourteenth Olympiad; Wrestling, and the Pentathlon or game of five exercises, at the eighteenth; Boxing at the twenty-third; the Chariot-race was not restored till the twenty-fifth, of course not till a hundred years after the institution of the festival; the Pancration and the Horse-race were added in the thirty-third. So much Pausanias has asserted; apparently from the Olympian register, which on other occasions he has quoted. Originally the sacrifices, processions, and various religious ceremonies apparently formed

Strabo,
l. 8. p. 358.
Polyb.
Hist. I. 4.
p. 336. 337.

CHAP. III. the principal pageantry of the meeting. Afterward perhaps the games became the greater inducement for the extraordinary resort of company to Olympia; though the religious ceremonies continued still to increase in magnificence as the festival gained importance. The temple, like that of Delphi, became an advantageous repository for treasure. A mart or fair was a natural consequence of a periodical assembly of multitudes in one place; and whatever required extensive publicity, whatever was important for all the scattered members of the Greek nation to know, would be most readily communicated, and most solemnly, by proclamation at the Olympian festival. Hence treaties by mutual agreement were often proclaimed at Olympia; and sometimes columns were erected there at the joint expense of the contracting parties, with the treaties engraved. Thus the Olympian meeting in some degree supplied the want of a common capital for the Greek nation; and, with a success far beyond what the worthy founder's imagination, urged by his warmest wishes, could reach, contributed to the advancement of arts, particularly of the fine arts, of commerce, of science, of civilized manners, of liberal sentiments, and of friendly communication among all the Grecian people. Such was the common feeling of these various advantages, it became established as a divine law that, whatever wars were going forward among the republics, there should be a truce, not only during the festival, but also for some days before and after; so that persons from all parts of Greece might safely attend it.

The advantages and gratifications in which the whole nation thus became interested, and the particular benefits accruing to the Eleans, excited attempts to establish or improve other similar meetings

in different parts of Greece. Three of these, the APPENDIX.
Delphian, Isthmian, and Nemean, though they never equalled the celebrity and splendor of the Olympian, acquired considerable fame and importance. Each was consecrated to a different deity. In the Delphic, next in consideration to the Olympic, Apollo was honored; the Delphian people were esteemed his ministers; the Amphictyonic council were the allowed protectors and regulators of the institution. The Isthmian had its name from the Corinthian isthmus, near the middle of which, overlooking the scene of the solemnity, stood a temple of the god Neptune venerated by the Corinthian people, administrators of the ceremonies, as their patron. At the Nemean, sacred to Juno, the Argives (who esteemed her the tutelary deity of their state) presided. All these meetings, like the Olympian, were, in war as in peace, open to all Grecian people; the faith of gods as well as of men being considered as plighted for protection of all, under certain rules, going to, staying at, and returning from them. All were also, like the Olympian, held at intervals of four years; so that, taking their years in turn, it was provided that in every summer, in the midst of the military season, there should be a respite of those hostilities among the republics which were otherwise so continually desolating Greece; and though this beneficial regulation was under some pretences occasionally overborne by powerful states, yet the sequel of history shows it to have been of very advantageous efficacy.

APPENDIX TO THE THIRD CHAPTER.

Of the Chronology of Grecian History.

No circumstance of Grecian history has been more labored by learned men, and yet none remains more

CHAP. uncertain and unsatisfactory, than its CHRONOLOGY.
III. I would most willingly have avoided all discussion of a subject which has already filled so many volumes, and to only touch upon which must considerably interrupt the tenor of a narration in its nature too much otherwise liable to interruption. The very names indeed of Scaliger, Selden, Lidyat, Marsham, Prideaux, Petavius, Calvisius, Pezron, Usher, Newton, Jackson, after these the indefatigable Freret,—and now, since the first publication of this history, is to be added the very learned and laborious Dr. Hales of Dublin,—might more than suffice to deter from the attempt to throw new light on a matter which they have successively handled, and on which they have so little agreed. But as history cannot hold together without some system of chronology, and as the result of my researches will not permit me to accept what has of late most obtained, it appeared an indispensable duty of the office I have undertaken, to risk the declaration of my opinion, not without some explanation of the ground of it. This indeed might have been done without interruption of the history, by a preliminary dissertation: but to be intelligible I must then have been more prolix, and much repetition would have been unavoidable. The history itself will now assist the illustration I propose of its chronology; in which however, far from undertaking to make all clear and luminous, my endeavour will be no more than to assist the reader, curious on the subject, amid darkness and difficulty to avoid gross error, and choose the best ground.

When a nation is first emerging from barbarism, all views are directed to the future: transactions past are so little interesting that a point whence accounts

of time may originate is not an obvious want; and APPEN-
the deficiency is beyond remedy before it is felt. It DIX.
was probably not long before Homer that the Greeks began to be attentive to genealogy; for the poet has shown himself unable to trace the pedigree of any of his heroes, except the royal family of Troy, beyond the fourth generation upward. Yet the genealogies of eminent men have perhaps been everywhere the first assistants toward ascertaining the dates of past events; feeble at best, and in the early days of Greece the more so, through the general ignorance of writing, together with the continual troubles of the country, which made it difficult by any means to preserve certain accounts of pedigrees through a number of generations. When arts and learning were first springing in Peloponnesus under the benign influence of a more settled polity, the return of the Heraclidae violently stopped their progress, checked and dissipated ancient tradition, and, through expulsions, migrations, and various political troubles to a great extent and of long continuance, prevented the means of communicating even recent transactions with any exactness to posterity. When again the darkness superinduced by that revolution began to clear, we find hereditary monarchy superseded in most of the Grecian states by republican government and annual magistracy. This very much weakened the old means of ascertaining dates; because, among genealogies, none could be so obvious to general knowledge as those of princes. Yet on the other hand, had the republican forms become at once regular and permanent, new means would have been opened, capable of far greater accuracy; for it might then have been possible to ascertain the year by the name of the magistrates of the time in different principal

CHAP. III. cities. But in the unsettled state of governments and deficiency of writing registers of magistracy were little regularly kept: the year, differently divided in the several states of Greece, was inaccurately calculated in all; nor had any era been established whence to reckon years. Little indeed was chronology likely to acquire consistency while compositions in prose for public use were unknown. The

Plin. Nat. Hist.
I. 7. c. 56.
Joseph. cont.
Apion.
Strabo,
I. 6. p. 259.

oldest Grecian prose-writers, known to the ancients themselves, were Cadmus of Miletus and Pherecydes of Scyrus, mentioned by Pliny to have lived during the reign of Cyrus king of Persia; nearly therefore

Dionys.
Hal. Antiq.
Rom. I. 1.

about the time when laws were first put in writing among the Greeks, by Draco at Athens, and by Zaleucus for the Epizephyrian Locrians, and not till some centuries after the Heraclidean revolution. In the next generation Hecataeus of Miletus composed a historical work in prose which had reputation with posterity; and about the same time Pherecydes, an Athenian, wrote of the antiquities and ancient genealogies of his own country. The name of Acusilaus of Argos has been transmitted as an earlier author: but the work of Pherecydes was the first composed in prose on the continent of Greece which retained any considerable credit. It was long extant, and was generally esteemed the most valuable upon its subject; yet how little satisfactory it was, whoever has but looked into what remains from Strabo, Plutarch, and Pausanias, may judge. The history of Herodotus, who lived about half a century after the Athenian Pherecydes, is the oldest Greek prose work preserved to us. Former histories, we are told, were but dry registers of facts, like that curious and valuable monument of our own ancient history, the Anglo-saxon Annals. Herodotus first taught to give grace

to detail in prose narration ; and at once with such success that he has had from the ablest writers in the most polished ages the titles of father and prince of history.¹⁶ But we gain little light from him concerning the chronology of ancient times, farther than by some genealogies, and even those not undisputed. The preface of the judicious Thucydides, a few years only later than Herodotus, affords the clearest and most authentic information remaining, for the connexion of Grecian history from the Homeric age to that immediately preceding the Persian invasion ; and also strongly shows the deficiency of authorities, even for the history itself, and far more for its chronology. No era whence to reckon dates having gained authority, the resource was to compute backward, either from the time present, or from some well-known period not distant, and that often not without great latitude. Herodotus describes the time

¹⁶ ‘ Græci ipsi sic initio scriptitarunt ut noster Cato, ut Pictor, ut Piso. Erat enim historia nihil aliud nisi annalium confessio — sine illis ornamentis monumenta solum temporum, hominum, locorum, gestarumque rerum reliquerunt. Itaque qualis apud Græcos Pherecydes, Hellanicus, Acusilaus fuit, aliique permulti, talis noster Cato et Pictor et Piso.’ M. T. Cic. de Orat. 1. 2. c. 12.

In that very valuable collection the Anglosaxon Annals, which, however dry and jejune, is perhaps the fairest monument of early history that any European nation possesses, we find remarkable proof of the difficulty of giving grace to prose in an uncultivated language. The author of the Annals of the years 938. and 942., and also the author of that of the year 975., if he was a different person, has been a man of genius apparently aware of the dulness of the preceding compilation, and determined to relieve it by a more spirited style of narrative ; but, unable to satisfy himself in prose, he has done it in verse ; and in verse which, though, from antiquity of diction or corruption in transcription, obscure in a phrase or two, has nevertheless been deservedly the admiration of all who in any degree understand the language of our Anglosaxon ancestors.

Cic. de Leg.
l. 1. c. 5.
& de Orat.
l. 1. c. 36.

CHAP. III. of events by saying they happened so many hundred years before his time; which scarcely fixes them within half a century. The more exact Thucydides commonly reckons backward from the year in which the Peloponnesian war was concluded. A little after Thucydides, in the time of the philosopher Socrates, Hippias, an Elean, published a catalogue of the victors in the Olympian games.¹⁷ But we are informed by Plutarch, that this catalogue had no reputation for accuracy,¹⁸ nor do we learn that it was at all trusted by historians. Ephorus, the disciple of Isocrates, in his chronological history of Greece from the return of the Heraclidæ to the twentieth year of the reign of Philip king of Macedon, digested his calculation of dates by generations only; and even the Arundel marbles, said to have been composed sixty years after the death of Alexander, make no mention of Olympiads, but reckon years backward from time present. Soon after the date of those marbles however a systematic use of the Olympian catalogue, for the purpose of chronology, was attempted by Timæus of Sicily, who, in his general history, endeavoured to establish a more correct chronology by comparing with the list of Olympian victors the succession of kings and ephors at Sparta,

¹⁷ In our copies of Xenophon's Grecian Annals an Olympiad is found specified by its number for marking a date. Xenoph. Hellen. 1. 1. c. 2. s. 1. But this, in the judgment of Marsham and Dodwell, has been an interpolation, and indeed seems evidently so. Marsham, Can. sæc. 16. cap. de primo Olymp. p. 504. & Dodwell, Annal. Xenoph. & Dissert. oct. de Cyclis Lacon. sect. 19.

¹⁸ Τοὺς μὲν οὖν χρόνους ἔξακριβῶσαι χαλεπόν ἐστι, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἐκ τῶν Ὀλυμπιονίκων ἀναγομένους· ὅν τὴν ἀναγραφὴν ὄψε φασὶν Ἰππίαν ἐκδοῦναι Ἡλεῖον; ἀπ' οὐδενὸς ὄρμώμενον ἀναγκαῖον πρὸς πίσιν. Plut. vit. Numæ.

of archons at Athens, and of priestesses of Juno at Argos. About forty years later Eratosthenes, librarian of Alexandria under Ptolemy Soter, digested a system by the Olympiads which gained estimation beyond any before known, insomuch that he has been honored with the title of father of scientific chronology. Nevertheless the improvement which gained him immediate reputation, did not satisfy posterity. Not long after him Apollodorus, an Athenian, wrote on the same subject. Unfortunately the works of Apollodorus, Eratosthenes, and Timæus all are lost. We have from Dionysius of Halicarnassus commendation of some canons, as they are called, for chronological computation proposed by Eratosthenes; but what they were, we cannot know. We have however large assurance that, whatever may have been their merit, they were found unequal to their purpose. Strabo, nearly contemporary with Dionysius, and clearly among the ablest of the ancient antiquarians from whom any considerable work remains, has utterly disregarded him; while in chronology as well as in history and geography he followed Homer with evident satisfaction, tracing him step by step, and verifying his accounts by his own observation and reading; but hesitating instantly where he loses the poet's guidance. Thus he shows enough that he had no faith in any chronology known to him which undertook to arrange history, either before or after the times of which Homer treats, till the Persian invasion.¹⁹ Long after Strabo then the diligent Pau-

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Blair's
Preface.

¹⁹ See particularly his remarks upon the variety of traditions concerning the origin of the Olympian Games. Doubt seems scarcely to have ceased with him concerning the history of that festival itself even where the regular computation by Olympiads begins: Ἐᾶσαι γὰρ δεῖ τὰ παλαιά.—τὰ γὰρ τοιαῦτα πολλαχῷς

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III.Plut. v.
Solon.

sanius remarked in early Grecian history contradictions in regard both to the arrangement of times, and the arrangement of pedigrees, and confessed his inability to reconcile them.²⁰ The cause then of that universal neglect of the chronologers and their canons in almost all following ancient history is furnished by Plutarch: ‘Numbers,’ he says, ‘continue to this day endeavouring to correct the chronological canons, and can yet bring them to no consistency.’²¹ This observation remarkably enough has been excited by question among the learned of antiquity about times so late, so verging on the age of authentic history, and persons so eminent, as the Athenian legislator, Solon, and the king of Lydia, Crœsus. It might seem that doubts had decreased in modern times in proportion, not to the acquisition of means for discovering truth, but to the loss of means for detecting falsehood.²²

λέγεται, καὶ οὐ πάνυ πιστεύεται. — Ἐγγυτέρω δὲ τῆς πίσεως ὅτι μέχρι τῆς ἔκτης καὶ εἰκοσῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἐν ἡ Κόροιζος ἐνίκα σάδιον Ἡλεῖος, τὴν προσασίαν εἶχον τοῦ τε ἱεροῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀγῶνος Ἡλεῖοι. Strab. I. 8. p. 355.

²⁰ Οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἑλλήνων λόγοι διάφοροι τὰ πλέονα, καὶ οὐχ ἥκισα ἐπὶ τοῖς γένεσίν εἰσι. Pausan. I. 8. c. 53.

²¹ Τὴν δὲ πρὸς Κροῖσον ἔντευξιν αὐτοῦ (τοῦ Σδλωνος) δοκοῦσιν ἐνιοι τοῖς χρόνοις ὡς πεπλασμένην ἐλέγχειν. Ἐγὼ δὲ λόγον ἔνδοξον οὕτω, καὶ τοσούτους μάρτυρας ἔχοντα — — — οὐ μοι δοκῶ προήσεσθαι χρονικοῖς τιστι λεγομένοις κανόσιν, οὐδὲ μηρίοι διορθοῦντες ἄχρι σήμερον εἰς οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ὁμολογούμενον δύνανται κατατῆσαι τὰς ἀντιλογίας. Plutarch. v. Solon.

²² This appears very remarkably in some observations of the very learned Freret on the Arundel marbles: ‘Quand à l'autorité que doit avoir la Chronique de Paros, je crois qu'elle peut etre assez grande pour l'histoire des temps héroïques; cette Chronique étant la seule qui nous soit restée un peu entière de toutes celles que les anciens avoient publiées. — Mais il s'en faut beaucoup que la Chronique ait le même degré d'autorité pour l'histoire générale & politique de la Gréce. —

All ancient writings treating specially of chronology having perished, and what is furnished by ancient historians being found so defective, the chronological register on tablets of marble, brought from Asia in Charles the first's reign by the Earl of Arundel, and thence called the Arundel marbles, but by foreigners the Parian chronicle, now in the possession of the university of Oxford, has greatly engaged the attention of modern inquirers on its subject; and assisted by some fragments of the chronologers Eratosthenes, Apollodorus, and Thrasyllus, preserved chiefly in the Chronicon of Eusebius and the Stromata of Clemens Alexandrinus, it has furnished the systems of Greek chronology most received in modern times. Among these, that of Archbishop Usher, much founded on the marbles, long held a preference among the learned foreign as well as of our own country. There is however in this system a striking defect; the one apparently whence its authorities failed to obtain the regard of ancient historians: I mean a gross want of consonancy with history, as will appear from the following short synopsis of it.

' De quelque part que soient venues les méprises il est sur qu'il y en a plusieurs dans la Chronique de Paros, &c.' Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscript. t. 26. What is this but saying, ' You may trust the marbles for what their author could not know, though they are certainly false in what he might easily have learnt, and ought to have reported with accurate fidelity?' One of the instances of mistake, mentioned by Freret, relates to so remarkable an event of so late a date as the battle of Leuctra.

If the Olympian chronology was in any extensive use in Arrian's time, he would have known it; and not adopting the Roman manner of dating, if he had any confidence in it, he would hardly have failed to use a convenience which his history so much wanted. But he has never mentioned it, resorting to that far less commodious scale, the register of Archons of Athens. L. v. c. 19. p. 219. ed. Gronov. et alibi.

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According to the archbishop, the deluge was two thousand three hundred and forty-eight years before the Christian era; the kingdom of Sicyon was founded only two hundred and fifty-nine years after. To this era is carried the list of kings said to have reigned in Sicyon, successors of *Ægialeus* the founder, during two hundred and thirty-three years; but without notice of a single event there or elsewhere till Argos was founded by Inachus. But it was a supposition not less received by antiquity, that Phoroneus and *Ægialeus*, sons of Inachus, founded Argos and Sicyon nearly at the same time; and we have Plato's assurance of his opinion that beyond the age of Phoroneus nothing was known of Greece. The Flood of Ogyges is the next event of any importance noticed after the founding of Argos: the interval is supposed only of sixty years. But whether any person of the name of Ogyges ever lived in Greece, appears utterly unascertained. The term Ogygian, used in after ages to express extreme antiquity, time beyond certain knowledge, seems from the use which Homer makes of it to have been not originally Grecian: if we may trust *Æschylus*, it was Egyptian.²³ After Ogyges a void follows which chronology would make just two hundred and eight years. Then Cecrops is said to have founded Athens. Dates thus void of all connexion with history cannot be for the historian to comment upon. With Cecrops however we find ourselves approaching a train of historical events so far connected that the memory of man might possibly reach from one to the other, and link tradition sufficiently for some conjectural calculation. Deucalion is said to

Plat.
Timæus,
p. 22. t. 3.
ed. Serran.

See ch. 1.
s. 3. of
this Hist.

²³ It seems not likely that Homer would have called the distant and fabulous island of Calypso Ogygia from the name of a Grecian prince. *Æschylus* calls the capital of Upper Egypt Ogygian Thebes. *Æschyl.* Pers. v. 39.

have been contemporary with Cecrops. Amphictyon, son of Deucalion, is the reputed founder of the council which bore his name. Cadmus was contemporary with Amphictyon. Danaus came into Greece only eight years after Cadmus. The connexion is then less satisfactorily supported during near a century and half to Acrisius : it holds afterward better, through eighty years, to the Argonautic expedition : and here at length a crowd of remarkable personages and many important events break upon us in probable succession : Pelops, *Æ*geus, *Œ*neus, Augeas, Neleus, Tyndareus, Eurystheus, Hercules, Jason, Theseus, and that Minos mentioned by Hesiod, Homer, Herodotus, Thucydides, Plato, Aristotle, and Strabo ; for the chronologers have imagined a prior Minos unknown to all those authors. With these personages we have the Argonautic expedition, the wars of Thessaly, the wars of Hercules in Peloponnesus, the Theban war, the war of Minos with Athens, the establishment of the Cretan maritime power with the suppression of piracy, the reformation of the Athenian government, the expulsion of the posterity of Perseus from Peloponnesus, with the full establishment of the power of the family of Pelops, and finally the war of Troy. History regularly connects these events ; and the chronology which fixes the Argonautic expedition to the year before Christ twelve hundred sixty-three places the expedition against Troy less than seventy years later. Chronology then continues to go hand in hand with history as far as the return of the Heraclidae : but here many ages of darkness ensue. The next events in Peloponnesus of any importance, and which bring forward any considerable characters to the notice of history, are the institution of the Olympian games by Iphitus, and the legislation of

CHAP. III. Lacedæmon by Lycurgus; and chronologers assert that this interval, in which neither man acquired fame, nor event had any consequence, was of no less than two hundred and twenty years: Freret makes it two hundred and eighty-three. Then follows another void of one hundred and eight years to another Iphitus, under whose presidency at the Olympic festival Corœbus was victor, in what bore ever after the title of the first Olympiad. From this era chronology begins again to approach connexion with history; but for near two hundred years it remains yet very uncertain. The most important events of the most polished state of Greece, the legislation of Draco, and even that of Solon at Athens, are of uncertain date; though the former is on probable ground placed above a century and half after the first Olympiad. Toward the sixty-fourth Olympiad, above two hundred and fifty years after the assigned date of the victory of Corœbus, books were still so little common, and means of multiplying them so little known, that Hipparchus, to promote the knowledge of letters among the Athenian people, caused moral sentences in verse, engraved on marble, to be set up in the public ways of Attica, for a kind of public library. Herodotus, the earliest Grecian prose-writer whose works remain to us, was about seventy years later. The Olympian catalogue was first published by Hippias the Elean not till toward the hundredth Olympiad. The first history digested by Olympiads, that of Timæus, was above a hundred years later still: and the flourishing time of Eratosthenes, called the father of ancient chronology, is attributed to the hundred and thirty-third Olympiad, deep in the sixth century of the Olympian catalogue.

The consideration that this chronology, which has

Plat. Hip.
parch.

had countenance from so many respectable names of APPENDIX.
modern, and so few of ancient times, so grossly fails in its especial and only valuable office of connecting and illustrating history, induced the great Newton to apply himself to an improvement of it. In his work remaining on the subject, using the preceding chronologers as far as they appeared to afford trustworthy information, he has labored to show and correct their errors by reference to ancient writers, and by comparing the most authentic recorded genealogies with the best historical traditions of important political events, and then both of these with accounts of astronomical observations. This work, never finished by him, but printed after his death, had considerable immediate credit. Of late however the favor of the learned has returned to Usher's system; which, in our own country, Blair in his chronological tables has implicitly followed; while in France the wonderful diligence of the very learned Freret has been employed in the endeavour to prove that the real chronology of early Greece was still more at variance with all remaining history than Usher has supposed; and with us the very learned Dr. Hales of Dublin has recently, in a deeply studied treatise, proposed to show ground for widening the breach, and for setting the earliest reported events in Greece yet farther beyond times of connected history, and centuries more distant from one another than any former writer. Toward a just decision of the subject it may be advantageous to take a short view of the means remaining, together with the means which the ancient authors themselves possessed, as far as we can know them, for tracing events through the early ages of Greece: because, as the authority of the history itself depends upon those means, from them also its chronology will derive, I

CHAP. III. apprehend, its only solid support. The principal works of Hesiod and Homer, two of the oldest and the most valued among the oldest authors known to the ancients, have been fortunately transmitted to us. In what age those authors lived is undecided; but that it was some centuries before prose compositions for public use were known in Greece was never doubted. In their age accounts of great events were preserved chiefly, if not only, by memory assisted with verse. In the uncontested work of Hesiod, his poem entitled Of Works and Days, is found a summary of human affairs from the creation to his own time. He begins with a description of what he terms the golden age, marking itself for a tradition derived from the East concerning the terrestrial paradise, and the state of man before the fall. The silver age, which follows, appears not less evidently a relic of tradition; so consonant is it to the account of Moses concerning the antediluvian world. In the character of the brazen age reference to eastern tradition ceases; and the savage state of the western nations is described in complete conformity with Plutarch's detail in his life of Theseus. In speaking of the succeeding generation, whom he calls the race of heroes, the poet confines his description more pointedly to his own country: he mentions the wars of Thebes and Troy by name. The next race of men to these, he says, was that with which he himself lived; and this he calls the iron race. What follows again marks derivation from the east. The golden race, he says, were exalted after death to a superior state of being; the silver race were in anger hid by the immediate hand of the Deity; but no such interventions of supernatural power are mentioned in the account of the brazen, the heroic, or the iron race: it is simply said that

Chap. 1.
s. 4. of
this Hist.

such races succeeded one another; and the latest historical event noticed is the Trojan war. If any surmise concerning the poet's own age can be fairly founded upon this historical deduction, it must be that he was born in the time of the sons, and lived probably with the grandsons and great-grandsons of those who fought at Troy.²⁴

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Homer's chronology does not go so high, but it is continued lower. He reckons time upward no farther than he can trace the genealogies of his heroes; which all end, in the second, third, or at most the fourth generation beyond those of the Trojan war, in a god, a river, or some unaccountable personage, the royal race of Troy only excepted: Jupiter was ancestor in

²⁴ This is Sir Isaac Newton's supposition, though he has understood the golden and the silver ages or races to relate particularly to Greece, as well as the brazen, the heroic, and the iron; an opinion which I must confess appears to me wholly unwarranted.

Having thus ventured to controvert so high an authority, it has afforded me gratification to find support from the very learned Dr. William Hales of Dublin, in the first volume of his very elaborate Treatise on Chronology, published since the first edition of this history. But Hales supposes Hesiod's golden age to have extended beyond the fall, including the age of those families of Seth's line, called, in the book of Genesis, 'sons of God.' To this I can give neither absolute assent, nor absolute denial, doubting if Hesiod had information on the subject sufficiently precise to lead him to intend warranting either. It is enough for me that he has in his golden age so clearly marked the state of man before the fall as described by Moses. The doctor farther contends that Hesiod's silver age followed the deluge. I will not say that the poet, when describing the silver age, was completely prepared to keep it clear of all allusion to times following the deluge; but the learned doctor has omitted to account for the termination of the silver age by 'the Deity in his wrath,' and I am not aware to what other event in the known history of the world that expression is applicable.

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III. the seventh degree to Hector. Negative proof surely cannot be stronger against that antiquity to which some of the Grecian towns in late ages pretended, and which Usher has admitted. Homer's Grecian chronology begins hardly before the age of Pelops, a generation or two earlier than the Theban war; and it ends with the restoration of Orestes, great-grandson, or, according to some, great-great-grandson of Pelops,²⁵ to the throne of Argos. Within these limits Grecian history is regular and probable; and chronology, according to every opinion of the learned who have endeavoured to illustrate it, tallies reasonably with the course of events. But this luminous period stands most oddly insulated. That it should have been preceded by times without history is not wonderful; but that it should have been followed by so many centuries of utter darkness as chronologers have imagined, appears most unaccountable. It would be of some importance both to the history and to the chronology of early Greece, if it were possible to ascertain the great poet's own age. Though therefore the variety of opinions upon this subject makes any discussion of it hazardous, it yet appears a part of the duty of the office I have undertaken, not to avoid the declaration of my own; and in hope of elucidating, in some degree, and confirming the account which I have ventured to give of that dark period which begins where Homer's history ends, I will here bring under one point of view some circumstances of proof upon which my opinion principally rests.

None of the early Grecian writers have undertaken to fix the æra of the Trojan war;* but Herodotus

²⁵ See note 20, chap. I. of this History.

[* On this assertion Mr. Clinton makes the following remarks in the Introduction to his *Fasti Hellenici*, p. v. 'If this be

affirms that Homer lived four hundred years before his own age.²⁶ He does not inform us how that period was calculated: but many things remaining

' understood to mean the precise year of that event, it is undoubtedly true. Although however they have not undertaken to fix the year, yet they have expressed the period in round numbers and general terms. Isocrates, in three passages of his works, delivers his notion of the date of the Return of the Heraclidae. In the 'Archidamus,' the date of which was B. C. 366., he tells the Lacedaemonians that they had been established in Peloponnesus 700. years. This would give B. C. 1066. for the Return. In the 'Panathenaic Oration,' the date of which was B. C. $3\frac{4}{5}$, he states the period again at 700. years. This gives B. C. $10\frac{1}{5}$. In the oration 'On Peace,' which was published in B. C. 356., he again asserts that the Lacedaemonians had been 700. years in Laconia, which would make the era of the Return B. C. 1056. Ephorus, according to the text of Diodorus (xvi. 76.), dated the Return B. C. 1090. According to our copies of Clemens (Strom. I. p. 337. A.), his date was B. C. 1070. If we suppose them to have reckoned eighty years for the interval between the Trojan era and that of the Heraclidae, an allowable supposition, we have these dates for the Trojan era: B. C. 1146. 1120. 1136. 1170. 1150. Democritus fixed the Trojan war at about B. C. 1150. The mean of all these numbers would be B. C. 1145., almost forty years below the date of Eratosthenes. But other writers, who preceded Eratosthenes, computed the time more largely. The date of Herodotus is B. C. 1270.; of the Parian Marble B. C. 1209. Duris of Samos (Clem. Alex. Strom I. p 337. A.) adopted the extravagant date of B. C. 1335. Eratosthenes then seems to have fixed upon a middle point, between the longer and shorter computations of his predecessors.' Those who may be inclined to pursue the subject further will find much additional curious matter ingeniously applied to ascertain the Trojan era in Mr. Clinton's Introduction.]

²⁶ In quoting the authority of Herodotus, I refer to that only of his general history. I am not inclined to give any credit to the life of Homer attributed to him. The arguments against its authenticity appear to me much stronger than those in its favor; and not least the internal evidence of the work itself. The first note of Wesseling's edition may deserve the notice of those curious on the subject.

Herodot.
1. 2. c. 53.

CHAP. III. from other early authors, and among them the dates

reported by Thucydides, tend to make the assertion probable; and it has indeed been generally admitted.

For the time then from the Trojan war to the poet's age there is evidence within his remaining works which seems to mark it strongly. Four passages speak to it in some degree affirmatively: three of them indeed but loosely, and rather by implication than directly; but the fourth in pointed terms. In

Odyss.
l. 1. v. 251.

the *Odyssey* a conversation is introduced concerning subjects for poetry, where it is remarked that 'those subjects are preferred for celebration, in which, through the recency of the transactions, the hearers have a nearer interest.' Now this would stand contradicted by the poet's practice, if the events which he celebrates happened, as some have imagined, five, four, three, two, or even one century before the generation for which he composed existed. In the

Odyssey again we find another remarkable passage

1. 8. v. 578. concerning subjects for poetry: 'the gods wrought the fate of Troy, and decreed the destruction of men, that there might be subjects for poetry to future generations.' Had the poet lived after the return of the Heraclidæ, that revolution would have furnished subjects far more nearly interesting to hearers in any part of either Greece itself or the Grecian settlements in Asia Minor than the war of Troy. The total failure of notice of so extensively interesting a course of events appears indication scarcely doubtful that they were unknown to him. The third passage may perhaps prove that he did not live absolutely in the times of which his poems principally treat: speaking in his own person of the Trojan war, he says, 'I have these things only by report, and not of my own knowledge;' which how-

Iliad.

l. 2. v. 486.

ever would be superfluous information to his auditors, if he did not live so near those times that in his elder-hood it might be doubted if his early youth had not been passed in them. It has been observed by critics, that Homer shows himself, upon all occasions, remarkably disposed to extol the family of Æneas, and singularly careful to avoid what might give them offence; whence it has been inferred, apparently with reason, that the posterity of that chief existed and were powerful in the poet's age; perhaps, according to the tradition formerly noticed, and which Strabo credited, in that part of Lesser Asia with which the poet was familiar. One passage appears to speak pointedly to the purpose: the god Neptune is introduced declaring prophetically that 'Æneas shall 1.20. v. 308.
'reign over the Trojans, and the sons of his sons,
'and those who shall be born after them.' In its most natural interpretation this passage seems to mark precisely the number of generations from Æneas to his descendants contemporary with the poet. With any other interpretation indeed the sense is doubtful and incomplete, in a manner not usual with Homer.

These are, I believe, the only passages, within Homer's extant works, that speak at all affirmatively to the age in which he lived. If not conclusive, yet united they are strong. But the negative evidence which his works afford in confirmation of them is also powerful; and to my mind, I will own, they are together decisive. For had the return of the Heraclidæ preceded the times in which Homer flourished, is it conceivable that, among subjects which so naturally led to the mention of it, he should never once have alluded to so great an event, by which so total a change was made of the principal families, and indeed of the whole population of Peloponnesus, and

CHAP. III. of all the western coast of Asia Minor with the adjacent islands? His geography of Peloponnesus is so minute and so exact that Strabo has chosen to follow him step by step for the purpose of tracing from remotest antiquity a complete account of that peninsula. That in so particular a description of the country, before the Dorian conquest, he should have been so correct that no subsequent inquiry should convict him of any error,²⁷ and yet that he should not take the least notice of any of the great changes in the property, the government, and the partition of the country which that revolution produced, if he had lived to see them, is not easily imaginable. How naturally, upon many occasions, would some such pathetic observation have occurred concerning the Pelopidean, the Nelidean, and other families, as that which in his catalogue in the Iliad he makes upon the catastrophe of the royal family of Ætolia!²⁸ How naturally too, especially as he mentions the wars of Hercules both in Greece and in Asia, would some compliment have fallen to the descendants of that hero, had they been in his time lords of Pelopon-

²⁷ Τὰ δὲ δὴ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὸν σύνεγγυς τόπους καὶ λίαν περιέργως ἔξενηνοχένται, πολυτρήρων μὲν τὴν Θίσθην λέγοντα, Ἀλίαρτον δὲ ποιήεντα, ἐσχατόωσαν δὲ Ἀνθηδόνα, Διλαιαν δὲ πηγῆς ἐπι Κηφισοῖ· καὶ οὐδεμίαν προσθήκην κενῶς ἀπορρίπτειν.

Strab. 1. 1. p. 16.

Λέγω δὲ ταῦτα συμβάλλων τά τε νῦν καὶ τὰ ὑφ' Ομήρου λεγόμενα· ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἀντεξετάζεσθαι ταῦτα ἐκείνοις, διὰ τὴν τοῦ ποιητοῦ δόξαν καὶ συντροφίαν πρὸς ἡμᾶς, τότε νομίζοντος ἐκάπου κατορθοῦσθαι τὴν παροῦσαν πρόθεσιν, ὅταν ἡ μηδὲν ἀντιπίπτον τοῖς οὐτώ σφόδρα πισευθεῖσι περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν λόγοις. Δεῖ δὴ τά τε ὅντα λέγειν, καὶ τὰ ποιητοῦ παραπιθέντας ἐφ' ὅσον προσήκει προσκοπεῖν. Strab. 1. 8. p. 337.

²⁸ Οὐ γὰρ ἔτ' Οἰνῆος μεγαλήτορος νίκες ἥσαν,
Οὐδὲ ἄρ' ἔτ' αὐτὸς ἔην, θάνε δὲ ξανθὸς Μελέαγρος.
Τῷ (Θόαντι) δ' ἐπὶ πάντ' ἐτέταλτο ἀναστέμεν Αἴτωλοῖσι.

Iliad. 1. 2. v. 643.

nesus, instead of exiles on the mountains of Doris! APPENDIX.
and how almost unavoidable, from an inhabitant of Chios, some notice of the acquisitions of the posterity of Agamemnon and Nestor in Æolis and Ionia, had he lived after the Æolic and Ionic migrations! Such subjects being open to him for compliment to all the princes both of the Pelopidean and Heraclidean families, would he have neglected all, and paid particular attention only to the extinct family of Æneas, the enemy of his nation? With these strong circumstances many others meet. To complete the evidence which the poet himself furnishes concerning the time in which he lived, we must add his ignorance of idolatry, of hero-worship, of republics, of tyrannies, of the division of the Greek nation into Ionian, Æolian, and Dorian, and of a general name for the whole: we must add the form of worship which he describes, without temples as without images: we must add the little fame of oracles, and his silence concerning the council of Amphictyons: we must add his familiar knowledge of Sidon, and his silence concerning Tyre: and lastly we may add the loss of his works in Peloponnesus, whose new inhabitants had comparatively little interest in them, and their preservation among the colonists in Asia, who reckoned his principal heroes among their ancestors. All these circumstances together appear to amount almost to conviction that Homer lived before the return of the Heraclidæ.²⁹ All together afford

²⁹ In a late anonymous publication, entitled Critical Observations on Books ancient and modern, in which much learning is displayed, Wood's opinion concerning the age of Homer has been violently controverted, and the author has endeavoured to prove that the great poet lived still later than has been generally supposed. I have considered his arguments with attention, but

CHAP. also strong proof that the editors of the Rhapsode
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cannot see any force in any of them. He asserts* that ‘ there are such internal testimonies in Homer’s poems of refinement as stand in direct contradiction to the roughness of his manners, and prove that either the one or the other could not be the real state of his own times.’ But Wood, who had conversed extensively in the East, knew that what thus appear contradictions to a learned Englishman thinking in his closet, are not incompatible there. ‘ Pope,’ the learned critic continues, ‘ has justly observed, that Homer’s invocation, Ἡμεῖς δὲ κλέος οἶον ἀκούομεν, οὐδέ τι ἰδμεν,† shows that he lived long after the siege of Troy.’ Thucydides, for such matters incomparably a greater authority than Pope, has said nearly the same thing: but the question still remains, What is long? Perhaps the οὐδέ τι ἰδμεν might be not unreasonably taken to imply that the poet’s birth was so near the time of the Trojan war that in his old age, if he had not declared the contrary, it might have been imagined that he pretended to know the events he describes from having been a party concerned; for it is little usual to contradict what could not be supposed. The proofs endeavoured to be drawn from Paterculus and Aristotle, and from the mention of the Gygæan lake, have not more precision. That from the word βαρβαρόνων ‡ is at variance with what follows about the names Miletus and Mycale.§ The learned critic has very much over-hastily quoted Strabo, as asserting that ‘ Miletus was at soonest built by Codrus a hundred years after the taking of Troy.’|| Strabo indeed says, that Neleus, who according to other authors was son of Codrus, founded Miletus, Μίλητον ἐκτισε; ¶ but it appears from two other passages of Strabo himself that an older town of the same name, and on or near the same spot, had its origin from a colony of Cretans under Sarpedon, brother of Minos:** and Pausanias bears corresponding testimony.†† ‘ Again,’ says the author of the Critical Observations, ‘ the mention made in the Odyssey of various articles of luxury and elegance betrays a later age than is usually assigned to the poet, and shows that he must have lived in more civilized times than can be consistent with the rough and simple manners which he feigns.’ I think not. Arts flourished in Egypt and Phenicia before Homer’s age; but nothing in his works implies that Greece was in his time considerably ad-

* p. 62.

† Il. l. 2. v. 487.

‡ p. 42.

§ p. 67.

|| Ibid.

¶ Strab. l. 14. p. 633.

** Ibid. p. 573. & 634.

†† l. 7. c. 2.

dies found them genuine, and gave them so to the APPENDIX.³⁰

vanced, either in arts or in civilization, beyond the times of his principal heroes. Two circumstances only mark some little advancement; and but little. The trumpet, as appears from a simile, was known to him, though never mentioned as in use in the times which he describes. From two similes it should seem also that horsemanship was improved. I believe another instance cannot be produced. But the learned critic continues, ‘That most curious machine, the formation of the Greek tongue in its several tenses, cases, and numbers, was all perfect and complete when Homer wrote.—It was impossible for his language to have arrived at that summit of excellence to which little improvement or addition was made afterward, unless the speakers were also arrived near the summit of social life and civil government.’ Were this so, the modern languages of Europe would be superior to the Greek and Latin. But the learned critic seems not sufficiently to have adverted to the common and known progress of languages. They are often found most complex in barbarous times, and simplify with the progress of civilization. The Anglosaxon had cases and a dual number, which it lost before the mixture of Norman French had formed our present language: and the Greek dual is scarcely seen but in the older authors. But the general form and character of every language have become fixed in early ages, beyond the power of learning to alter. Those of the Greek were indeed wonderfully happy; but had they not been so delivered down through times of darkness, all the philosophy of the brightest ages could not have added a number, a tense, or a case.

³⁰ It has not been the purpose here to give a dissertation on the age of Homer in which every objection that ingenious criticism might start should be discussed, but merely to state the principal grounds of an opinion resulting from more reading and more consideration on the subject than many are willing to bestow. I have understood that a passage in the fifth book of the Iliad has been supposed to make strongly against me. It is there said, ‘that Diomed took a stone which two men, such as mortals now are, could not carry.’ It appears to me that whatever objection might be drawn from this passage is already answered in the beginning of the second section of the second chapter of this History. If more is wanted, I would beg to

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After Homer is a long interval to our next authorities for Grecian history. Pindar and Æschylus afford assistance; but they lived too late to unite in any great degree the character of historian with that of poet.³¹ Following poets are of course inferior historical authority. Herodotus therefore, the oldest Grecian prose author whose works remain to us, and who, according to his own probable assertion, as we have already observed, was four hundred years later than the great poet, may be called the next historian. Thucydides, Plato, Aristotle, Strabo, Plutarch, and Pausanias, who in different ages investigated the antiquities of their country, all sufficiently inform us what uncertain authorities intervened. Early in this dark period however we gain by a strong concurrence of testimony one remarkable point, the Olympiad in which Corœbus won in the stadion, whence the Olympiads were reckoned numerically, and which was therefore always called the first Olympiad. But unfortunately we are not with any certainty informed what principal characters were contemporary, or even nearly contemporary, with Corœbus. Not only therefore the preceding times, till we meet Homer's chronology, or, which is nearly the same thing, to the

refer the reader to Nestor's assertions, in various parts of the Iliad, of the superiority of those who flourished in his youth to Diomed, or any others, the contemporaries of his old age.

³¹ Though not more than three or four publications in Grecian prose, of earlier date than the works of Pindar and Æschylus, acquired any reputation, yet already in their time the *Λόγιος*, prose-writer, appears to have been familiarly known as a person capable of transmitting facts to posterity, as well as the *'Αοιδὸς*, poet:

- - - - - *Ὀπισθόμβροτον αὐ-*
χημα δέξας
Οἶον ἀποιχομένων ἀν-
δρῶν δίαιταν μανύει
Καὶ λογλοις καὶ ἀοιδοῖς. — Pindar. Pyth. 1.

return of the Heraclidæ, remained to be gathered from genealogies, but for the most part the subsequent also, till near the time of the Persian invasion. In the computation by genealogies, exclusively of its inherent inaccuracy, great difficulties occur. Even the succession of Lacedæmonian kings, which should be our best guide, has not been transmitted with certain correctness: and when we recollect the variety of opinions of ancient writers, or those reported by Plutarch alone, concerning the age of so very remarkable a personage as the lawgiver Lycurgus, the pretensions of chronologers to assign to each reign its exact number of years appear utterly absurd. The terms attributed to the perpetual archons of Athens are not better founded; and the reasons given by Sir Isaac Newton for supposing that the seven decennial archons did not complete seventy years are cogent. Of the annual archons who followed accounts are very deficient. Probably at their first establishment written registers were not kept: for, as we are well assured that the laws of Athens were never committed to writing till the archonship of Draco, it is not likely that letters were applied much sooner to public purposes of inferior importance. Letters became common, and chronology acquired accuracy, about the same time, and not long before the Persian invasion.

Among uncertainties thus abounding, the date assigned to the first Olympiad, that in which Corœbus won, the year seven hundred and seventy-six before the Christian era, for the universal admission of it by extant ancient writers, in the want of more precise testimony, will deserve respect. Newton accordingly, in common with other modern chronologers, has admitted it.³² The date of the return of the Heraclidæ,

³² I do not understand the accusation of an ingenious, but

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assigned by the inquisitive and judicious Thucydides to the eightieth year after the Trojan war, has also found universal acquiescence. The two great desiderata then of Grecian chronology are to know what principal persons were contemporary with Corœbus, and to trace the generations from his age upward to the return of the Heraclidæ. If these could be obtained, we should have a tolerably accurate chronology as far as Homer's genealogies will carry us; and beyond them, however curiosity may be incited, the fruit of inquiry will scarcely pay the labor.

Our principal information concerning the Olympiads is from Pausanias; who lived late, but was a diligent and a candid antiquarian. He travelled through Greece after the middle of the second century of the Christian era, and it appears that he examined the Olympian register on the spot. He says that the Olympiads might be traced back regularly to that in which Corœbus won in the foot race; but that even tradition, concerning any regular and periodical celebration of the games, went no farther. It is strongly implied by his expressions, that the written register of the Olympian victors was not so old as Corœbus, but that the account of the first Olympiads had been kept by memory only.³³ Indeed it appears certain

vehement opposer of Sir Isaac Newton's Chronology, that Newton asserts a wilful forgery to have been made in the Olympic catalogue of forty Olympiads which had no real existence.* On the contrary, Newton admits all the Olympiads of the catalogue, from Corœbus downward; and before Corœbus, if any Olympiads were celebrated, we are well assured that no catalogue was kept.

³³ Εξ οὗ γὰρ τὸ συνεχὲς ταῖς μνήμαις ἐπὶ ταῖς Ὀλυμπιάσιν ἔστι, † is Pausanias's expression concerning the authority of the first

* Dissertation on the Chronology of the Olympiads, by Dr. S. Musgrave.

† l. 5. c. 8.

from all memorials of best authority, that writing was not common in Greece so early. We are not assured that Corœbus was contemporary with Iphitus, yet it appears probable. On the authority of a passage of Phlegon preserved by Eusebius, but wholly unsupported by older authors, chronologers have confidently stated twenty-eight Olympiads between the establishment of the festival by Iphitus and the victory of Corœbus under another Iphitus. Pausanias evidently had no idea of such an interval. Strabo's account still more remarkably contradicts the supposition. He affirms that the *Ætolians*, who under ^{Strabo, l. 8.}
_{p. 354. 355.} Oxylus came into Peloponnesus with the Heraclidæ, were the inventors of the Olympian games, and celebrated the first Olympiads. After then mentioning traditions concerning the prior establishment of the festival as fabulous and unworthy of credit, he speaks of that as the first Olympiad in which Corœbus won. So far from giving the least countenance to the supposition that two or three centuries intervened between the return of the Heraclidæ and the victory of Corœbus, expressions rather imply that Corœbus was contemporary with Oxylus; and yet in another place he mentions Iphitus as founder of the festival; thus marking his uncertainty. Even the short interval which Newton has supposed between Oxylus and Corœbus rests on no satisfactory authority. With Newton then I cannot scruple to strike from my chronology that period of above a century which has been imagined between Iphitus and Corœbus. Pausanias states Iphitus to have been descended from Oxylus, but in what degree that antiquarian could

Olympiads of the catalogue, beginning with the victory of Corœbus. With regard to later times, he speaks in plain terms of a written register.

Pausan.
l. 5. c. 4.

CHAP. III. not learn: even among the ancient inscriptions and memorials of the Eleans the testimonies were contradictory concerning his father's name. Newton, deducing collateral proof from another passage of Pausanias, supposes him grandson of Oxylus, and places the Olympiad in which Corœbus won under his presidency, only fifty-two years after the return of the Heraclidæ. Usher places Iphitus two hundred and twenty, and Freret supposes him two hundred and eighty-three years later than that event; and Hales and all maintain the farther interval of one hundred and eight years between his institution of the Olympian games and that called the first Olympiad. If we search history to know what occurrences filled this long interval, we find none: nothing in the least to contradict Newton's supposition that only fifty-two years, instead of three hundred and twenty-eight according to Usher, or three hundred and ninety-five according to Freret, or according to Hales, passed between the return of the Heraclidæ and the Olympiad in which Corœbus won, except an account from Pausanias of what was not done. That antiquarian relates that games after the manner of the Homeric age were so long neglected that even memory of them failed; and that they were recovered but by slow degrees after the time of Corœbus. I know nothing else of equal or almost of any authority to direct opinion between Sir Isaac Newton's conjecture and computations so utterly unsupported by history as those adopted by Usher, or made by Freret: computations, as appears to me, virtually contradicted by Herodotus, Thucydides, Plato, and Aristotle, and evidently disbelieved by Strabo, Plutarch, and Pausanias. Not only they are utterly irreconcilable to the history, imperfect enough indeed itself, which

Pausan.
l. 5. c. 8.

remains of those times; but even to strain genealogy to any kind of accommodation with them, it has been necessary to add a supposition improbable in itself, and utterly unsupported by any just authority, that there were two extraordinary personages kings of Elis of the name of Iphitus, two extraordinary personages of the name of Lycurgus legislators of Sparta, and so of many others who, at the distance of from one to two centuries one from the other, bore the same name, did the same or similar things, and acquired the same reputation.

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The inquiry then, such as I have been able to make, on this dark and intricate subject, leads me to the following conclusions. I have not the least difficulty, with Newton, to reject, as fictitious, that personage whom chronologers have inserted in their catalogue of kings of Crete by the name of the first Minos; because his existence not only is unwarranted, but contradicted by what remains from Hesiod, Homer, Herodotus, Thucydides, Plato, Aristotle, and Strabo concerning the only Minos whom those authors appear to have known.³⁴ With scarcely more doubt and upon similar grounds I join in the rejection of Erichthonius, together with the second Cecrops and the second Pandion, from the list of kings of Athens. I cannot however hold with the great philosopher, that Gelanor, king of Argos, and Danaus, the leader of the Egyptian colony, were con-

See note 25.
ch. 1. sect. 3.
of this Hist.Newton's
Chrono-
logy, p. 137.

³⁴ Diodorus Siculus, in his fourth book, (c. 62.) mentions two kings of Crete of the name of Minos. But the traditions of the Cretans themselves, reported in his fifth book, (c. 79.) effectually contradict the existence of more than the one celebrated personage of that name, acknowledged by the writers mentioned in the text. Dr. Hales appears to have overlooked this contradiction, where, in his 32d page, he styles his historian "the judicious Diodorus."

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III. temporary with Eurystheus, king of Mycenæ; because the supposition is not only unsupported, but contradicted by testimony equal to any concerning those times; indeed by the whole tenor of early historical tradition. We come next to the period which Homer has illustrated; and concerning this, considered by itself, the difference among authors has been comparatively none. In proceeding then to the dark ages which follow, I have no doubt in shortening the period from the return of the Heraclidæ to the institution of the Olympian festival by Iphitus. The number of years that passed can be calculated only upon conjectural grounds; but Newton's conjecture, if not perfectly unexceptionable, appears so far the most probable as it is most consistent with historical tradition, and moreover with what I hold to be the best chronological authorities, those of Strabo and Pausanias. For the period then of a hundred and eight years, between the institution of the festival by Iphitus and the first Olympiad, or that in which Corœbus won, its existence being strongly contradicted by Strabo and Pausanias, and supported by no comparable authority, I look upon it as merely imaginary. Concerning the dates of the Messenian wars I am less able to determine my belief; nor can I satisfy myself concerning those of Attic or Corinthian history. In the former cases the business was to detect falsehood; here we have the nicer task to ascertain truth. Upon the whole however I think Newton has strong reason on his side throughout. He seems indeed to have allowed too little interval between the legislation of Draco and that of Solon; and perhaps this is not the only instance in which his shortening system has been carried rather to an extreme: but where centuries are in dispute difficulties about a

few years are of little moment. It would be of some APPEN-
importance, if it were possible, to determine the age DIX.
of that remarkable tyrant of Argos, Phidion, the most Herodot.
powerful Grecian prince of his time, the first who l. 6. c. 127.
coined silver in Peloponnesus, the first who established Strabo,
a standard for the weights and measures used over l. 8. p. 355.
the whole peninsula, and who, as head of the Heraclidæ, and legal heir of Hercules, claimed, and by
the prevalence of his power assumed, the presidency
of the Olympian festival. This last circumstance,
were the Olympian register perfect, should have put
his age beyond question: yet authors who possessed
the best means of information are not to be recon-
ciled concerning it. Pausanias says that Phidion pre- Pausan.
sided in the eighth Olympiad. But, according to l. 6. c. 22.
Strabo, the Eleans presided without interruption to Strabo,
the twenty-sixth; and, if the copies of Herodotus are l. 8. p. 355.
faithful, Phidion must have lived toward the fiftieth Herodot.
Olympiad, where Newton would fix him. But the l. 6. c. 127.
copies of Herodotus are not without appearance of
defect where Phidion is mentioned. The chronologers
have been desirous of imputing error to those of Strabo,
which assert that Phidion was tenth in descent from
Temenus: they would have him but tenth from Her-
cules; and thus they would make Strabo agree with
Pausanias and with the marbles. But this does not
complete their business, for Strabo will still contradict
the presidency of Phidion in the eighth Olympiad.
Moreover that writer, as his copies now stand, is con-
sistent with himself; and, upon Newton's system,
consistent with Herodotus. It can scarcely be said
that Pausanias, as his copies stand, is consistent with
himself: at least he is very deficient when it was
clearly his desire to give full information. I am
therefore inclined, with Newton, to suppose an error

CHAP. III. in the date which stands assigned, as on his authority, for the presidency of Phidon. But when precisely Phidon did preside, it should seem even Strabo could not learn to his satisfaction; otherwise he would probably have named the Olympiad, and not have dated merely by the pedigree. That ready method, used by the later Greek chronologers, but greatly improved by the modern, for accommodating chronological difficulties by the supposition of two or more persons of the same name in the same situation, and sometimes of the same character and the same fame, in different ages, has been employed to adjust the age of Phidon, with the success which cannot fail to attend it; but we find no historical authority for the existence of more than one king of Argos of that name.

Considering chronology as the handmaid of history, and in that office highly valuable, but in that office alone of any value, I cannot but be disposed to acknowledge high obligation to our great philosopher for his endeavour, imperfect as he has left it, to restore that harmony between them, which has been so utterly disregarded by other men of science. Nevertheless, though having reckoned it a duty to declare my own opinion, I shall not presume to impose it upon the reader in any instance. I shall continue to insert in the margin Usher's dates as given by Blair, together with Newton's, after having thus given the best preparatory assistance in my power to direct the choice between them; sorry that I cannot better satisfy either my readers or myself. Some farther observations will occasionally occur in the sequel.

One circumstance more it may yet be proper to advert to here. The period of the Grecian festivals being regulated by the revolutions of the moon, the

time of those festivals, compared with the solar year, APPENDIX.
would vary, like the time of Easter and the other moveable holidays of the Christian church. But the Olympian festival ordinarily falling within our month of July, the Olympian year divided our year nearly in the middle. When we come to times of more exact chronology, this will be a circumstance to require attention. For the ages with which we have been hitherto, and shall for some space continue to be engaged, it is of little importance.

CHAPTER IV.

History of the southern provinces of Greece from the return of the Heraclidæ to the conquest of Messenia by the Lacedæmonians.

SECTION I.

Recapitulation of events in Greece. General change of governments from monarchal to republican. Different kinds of government distinguished by the Greeks.

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WE have now taken a view, such as remaining memorials afford means for, of the first population of Greece, and the rise of its principal cities: we have seen one common war prosecuted by a league of the chiefs of the different states, under a prince in whom was acknowledged a legal superiority over all, but without absolute power: we have remarked a great revolution, that changed the inhabitants and the government of the southern part of the country, checked the progress of arts and civilization, established new divisions of the Grecian people, and broke the former connexion of the old. We have then traced the growth of three singular institutions, which assisted powerfully to hold still in some union a nation so divided, and prevent a relapse into utter barbarism.

The governments of the little states of Greece in the first ages, we have observed, though of no very regular and certain constitution, were all limited monarchies. Homer seems to have known no other: he mentions neither a pure republic, nor the absolute

rule of one man. When therefore the Heraclidæ possessed themselves of Peloponnesus, they established everywhere that hereditary limited monarchy, which was the only government familiar to the ideas, and suited to the temper of the age. The disposition toward a union of the whole nation into one kingdom under the powerful monarchs of Argos, which had appeared before the Trojan war, was checked by the extensive calamities and confusion which followed that expedition, and still more by the equality established among the Heraclidean princes in Peloponnesus; and it was soon after finally dissipated through the opposite bias which the politics of the country universally assumed. Those vigorous principles of democracy, which had always existed in the Grecian governments, began to ferment; and in the course of a few ages monarchy was everywhere abolished; the very name of king was very generally proscribed; a commonwealth was thought the only government to which it became men to submit; and the term Tyrant was introduced to denote those who, in opposition to these new political principles, acquired monarchal sway. We are very deficient of means to trace this remarkable revolution among so many independent little states: yet enough remains whence to gather a general idea of the rise of that political system which prevailed in ages better known: and for the particular history of every commonwealth, it has been transmitted more or less perfect, nearly in proportion to the importance of each among the concerns of the nation.

But to have a just idea of the Grecian governments, especially in the republican ages, it will be necessary to hold in mind two circumstances by which they were widely distinguished in character from the principal states of modern Europe: first, the nar-

Plat. de
Leg.
l. 3. p. 684.
& Isocr.
Panath.
p. 504. t. 2.

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narrowness of their several territories; and secondly, the universally established system of slavery, through which the free population was everywhere small, even in proportion to its very small territory. Already in that age which Homer has described slaves were common in Greece; but their proportional numbers were afterward very much increased. Among the many and great political evils incident to the allowance of slavery two are eminent: first, a large, and generally the larger part of the population is excluded from any interest in the country; and secondly, among the free people, between the rich and the poor there can be little community of interest. The rich, where slaves abound, can dispense with the labor of the poor; and the poor profit in no way from the prosperity of the rich: an interference of interest almost alone leads to any intercourse between them. The consequences are among the most prominent features of the ensuing history.

But the several states of the monarchal age of Greece were not more extensive or powerful than the feudal baronies of modern Europe; and yet, when kingly sway was abolished, they were found generally too large for the republican constitution which succeeded. For in the narrowness of the territory of every Grecian state, and the want of a controlling power over all, while the disposition of the people was restless and warlike, a hostile disposition, as formerly among the clans of the Scottish highlands, was so continual among neighbours that it was generally impossible to cultivate, with reasonable hope of enjoyment, any land far from a fortified town; of which, in the poverty of governments and non-existence of taxes, the owners of the neighbouring fields must be the garrison. Nor was it only to defend the narrow

territory against hostile neighbours that it was necessary for every citizen to be a soldier; but still more to hold a sure superiority over the slaves, generally much more numerous than the citizens. For persons, some holding land, others none, but all uniting the civil and military character, some municipal administration adapted to both would be indispensable. The questions then arose, What should be the relation of this government to that of the capital? What should be their common, and what their separate rights? Under monarchal supremacy the adjustment was easier; for each town preserving its municipal polity, the prince's superintending authority, his military command, his presidency over the religion of the state, and his power in general to direct the executive government would be as willingly acknowledged by the inferior towns as by the capital. But after the abolition of monarchy the people of the capital generally claimed that sovereignty over the people of the inferior towns, which the kings had before held; a sovereignty, in their hands, unavoidably invidious, and likely to be oppressive, because the interests of the parties were in many points distinct, in some opposite. The people therefore of the inferior towns, having arms in their hands and walls to protect them, and often means for obtaining among neighbours of similar interest allies to assist them, seldom failed to assert independency. In some provinces a federal union was maintained. In two only (Attica, through the constitution of Theseus, and Laconia through that which we shall find established by Lycurgus) one constitutional supreme authority pervaded the whole as one state.

The division of Greece then into little states unnumbered, the variety of political customs naturally arising among them even while monarchs presided,

CHAP. IV. the various changes that took place, according to circumstances, upon the abolition of monarchy, the continual struggles afterward of discordant interests among the people, and frequent revolutions ensuing, gave occasion to various distinctions and definitions of governments, which were afterward with more or less accuracy adopted by the Romans, and from them have been received into all the languages of modern Europe. The Greeks distinguished, at least in theory, six simple forms; four legal and admitted, two not of acknowledged legality, but generally supported by violence. The legal were Monarchy, Oligarchy, Aristocracy, and Democracy: the illegal, Tyranny, and Assumed or Tyrannical Oligarchy.

Ch. 2. s. 2. But absolute MONARCHY, as we have already observed, was unknown among the Greeks as a legal constitution. The title of KING therefore implied with them, as with us, not a Right of Absolute Power, but a Legal Superiority of Dignity and Authority in One person above all others of the state, and for their benefit.¹ The peculiar and most indispensable Rights of Royalty were Religious Supremacy and Military Command. In the early ages Kings also commonly exercised Judicial Authority. Aristot. Polit. 1. 3. c. 13. But Legislation seems never to have been regularly within their single prerogative. After the general abolition of Monarchy in Greece, if a Citizen of a Commonwealth, through whatsoever means, acquired Monarchal Power, his government was entitled TYRANNY, and himself TYRANT: names not originally of opprobrious import, but brought into disrepute among violent party contentions.

A distinction of families into those of Higher and

¹ Εγγενομένου ἀνδρὸς ἐν τοῖς ἄρχουσι διαφέροντος, βασιλεία ἀν κληθείη, κ. τ. λ. Plat. de Rep. 1. 9. p. 576. Accordingly he calls his republic *Βασιλευομένη πόλις*.

Aristot.
Polit.

Ch. 2. s. 2.
of this Hist.

Homer.
passim.
Thucyd.
I. 1. c. 13.
Polyb.
I. 6. p. 455.
Aristot.
Polit. I. 3.
c. 1. & 14.
Dion. Hal.
Ant. Rom.
I. 5.
Arist. Polit.
I. 3. c. 14.

Corn. Nep.
vit. Miltiad.

Lower Rank appears to have obtained very early throughout Greece; and nowhere more than at Athens, where, by the constitution of Theseus, the EUPATRIDÆ, or NOBLY BORN, like the Patricians of Rome, formed a distinct order of the state, with great privileges.² With the downfall of Monarchy however Hereditary Nobility seems to have declined everywhere; and though Family was always considered, yet Wealth became the principal criterion of Rank. But daily experience, among the Greeks, proving that Military Force may always command Civil Authority, the two were in all their republics united in the same persons: every man enjoying civil rights was bound to Military Service. Equally then the necessity of the commonwealth and the choice of the individual would decide that the rich should serve on horseback; and thus was created, in the principal republics, a Rank of Citizens determined by their ability to serve in War on Horseback at their own expense. Such was the origin of KNighthood in Rome; and since in the feudal kingdoms of Europe. In many Grecian states however the noble, or the rich, or both together, held exclusively the principal authority; and the government was then denominated OLIGARCHY; meaning a government in which the supreme power is vested in a Few. Where the Few, as they became emphatically called, remained contented with the prerogatives of the ancient hereditary kings, leaving rights to the people so established as to secure an impartial administration of equal law, it was deemed a legitimate Oligarchy,³ or, as the Greek phrase imports, an oligarchy in

SECT. I.

Diodor. Sic.
l. 1. c. 28.
Plut. vit.
Thes.Herodot.
l. 8. c. 124.
Xen. de Re
Eq. c. 2.
Arist. Polit.
l. 4. c. 3.Strab. l. 10.
p. 481. 482.

² Aristotle distinguishes the noble by the title of *εὐγενέστεροι*.
Polit. l. 4. c. 4.

³ Ὀλιγαρχία *ἰσόνομος*. Thucyd. l. 3. c. 62.

CHAP. IV. which, though the principal authority was limited to a select body, provision was made, or proposed to be made, for just freedom and equal law to all. But where contests arising, as often happened, between the FEW and the MANY, (which became the distinguishing appellation of the lower people,) the Few obtained the superiority, not without a violent and perhaps a bloody struggle, they would not always, and sometimes could not safely, be moderate in the exercise of power. Thus arose Tyrannical Oligarchy.

ARISTOCRACY, signifying government by the Better people, was a phrase of more doubtful import, inasmuch as the question would always remain, Who were the better people? The Few, whether legally, or by violence, or not at all, established in power, commonly arrogated the title to themselves;⁴ and gave that of Aristocracy to any government in which they, or persons of their sort, held the principal power. Among the moderns generally the term Aristocracy has been used as equivalent to legitimate and constitutional Oligarchy; an application of it apparently first proposed by Aristotle, on account of the discredit which the frequency of a tyrannical assumption of power by the Few brought upon the name of Oligarchy. But both before and after that philosopher the term Aristocracy was more received, among the Greeks, as the proper appellation of those governments in which the supreme authority was committed, by the people themselves, to persons elected for their merit; Oligarchy remaining always the ordinary Grecian term for governments in which the noble or the rich presided, as a separate order of the state.

⁴ Καλοὶ καὶ γαθοὶ.

DEMOCRACY signified Government by the People at large : all the Freemen of the state in assembly forming the Legal Sovereign, Absolute, and Uncontrollable. But Democracy being beyond all other governments subject to irregular, improvident, and tyrannical conduct, where unchecked by some balancing power intrusted to a few, it became distinguished by the opprobrious title of OCHLOCRACY, Mob-rule.

The states of Greece, whose government was in any degree settled, had mostly some mixture of two or more of these forms. A simple monarchy indeed would be despotism and tyranny ; a simple oligarchy but the tyranny of an association, instead of the tyranny of an individual ; and a simple democracy scarcely above anarchy : yet those evils we find frequently existing among the Grecian cities. From the various mixture however of these simple forms, decided whether by accidental custom, or by the various prevalence of various interests, arose new distinctions, and sometimes new names. The mixture of oligarchy and democracy, in which the oligarchical power was superior, yet the democratical sufficed to secure freedom and equal right to the people, might, according to Aristotle, be properly distinguished from simple oligarchy by the more honorable title of Aristocracy. That mixture where the democratical power prevailed, yet was in some degree balanced by authority lodged in steadier hands, is distinguished by the same great author by the name of Polity. Kingly government, in another place he says, is nearly related to Aristocracy. Tyranny on the contrary is compounded of the most extreme oligarchy and democracy ; whence it is the most oppressive to live under ; being a compound of two bad constitutions, and fraught with the extravagances and

Aristot.
Polit. I. 4.
c. 6. & 7.

Aristot.
Polit. I. 4.
c. 6. & seq.

Aristot.
Polit.

I. 5. c. 10.

Polyb. 1. 6. sins of both. And this is consonant to what Polybius,
init. the writer of most extensive experience in politics
perhaps of any from whom any thing on the subject
has reached us from antiquity, says, that a due blend-
ing of the three powers, monarchal, aristocratical,
and democratical, was necessary to constitute what
might properly be termed a Kingdom.⁵

⁵ It is of importance, in considering ancient, or indeed any foreign politics, to be careful not to be misled, and in treating of them not to mislead, by names; and if our language wants words to give the precise meaning of Grecian political terms, it will be no matter of wonder to us, when we consider that the several nations of modern Europe, whose governments have mostly had a common origin, are unable, each in its own language, to express the political terms of its nearest neighbours. Thus the English is without words perfectly synonymous with the French Gentilhomme, Noble, Bourgeois, Roturier; and no foreign language can convert with precision our terms Noble, Lord, Commoner, and many others. But in the Greek, beyond most languages, political terms are found of undefined import; because, in the several Grecian republics, often where names were the same, things differed. Thus the term *Δῆμος*, generally meaning the lower people exclusively of the higher, and thus not ill translated either by the Latin Plebs, or the English Commonalty, in the democratical state of Athens included all the people, noble as well as plebeian. In the time of Isocrates the term *'Αριστοκρατία* seems hardly to have been appropriated to any form of government. That writer acknowledges only three simple kinds, Oligarchy, Democracy, Monarchy; * and he applies the term Aristocracy as a title of compliment to the Democracy of Athens; distinguishing it, as a well-constituted Democracy, from those ill-formed, or unformed governments, which might deserve the name of Ochlocracy. Polybius, as may be seen in the beginning of his sixth book, uses the term Aristocracy nearly in the same manner. The term *Μοναρχία*, unqualified, appears always to have signified Absolute Monarchy; from which Polybius, in common with Plato and Aristotle, distinguishes limited or balanced Monarchy by the title of *Βασιλεία*. Plato indeed gives to his republic, in different places, the several

* Panath. p. 514. ed. Paris. Auger.

It may here perhaps be a digression neither in itself absolutely improper, nor entirely useless for illustration of the subject before us, to observe that the British Constitution is compounded of all the Legal simple forms acknowledged by the Greeks, Monarchy, Oligarchy, Aristocracy, and Democracy. Monarchy with us perfectly accords with the Grecian idea of Kingly government: the Lords form the Oligarchical part of the constitution: and the House of Commons properly the Aristocratical; being composed of persons elected by the People to Legislative Authority for Merit real or supposed. The democratical Principle, Equal Law, or, in the Greek term, Isonomy, singularly pervades the whole; the privileges of the Peer extending in no degree to his family, and the descendants even of the Blood Royal being PEOPLE, subject to the same laws, the same burdens, and the same judicature with the meanest citizen. Rights of Election, Trial by Jury, and Provincial Offices, together with the Right of addressing and Petitioning either the executive or any branch of the legislature, form a large Democratical Power, more wisely given, and more wisely bounded, notwithstanding some defects, (whether more than are inseparable from human institutions may perhaps be questioned,) than in any other government that ever existed.⁶

titles of Βασιλεομένη πόλις, Ἀριστοκρατία, and Πολιτεία. Xenophon, in the beginning of his Agesilaus, enumerates the ordinary forms of government under the titles of Δημοκρατία, Ὀλιγαρχία, Τυραννίς, Βασιλεία. The Lacedæmonian government, where royal power was so excessively limited, is his example of the Βασιλεία.

⁶ The right of EQUAL LAW, the peculiar boast of the English constitution, is derived from the Anglosaxon government. It is declared more than once in the Anglosaxon laws

SECTION II.

Summary of the Histories of Crete, Argos, the Calaurean Confederacy, Corinth, Sicyon, Achaia, Elea, Arcadia.

CHAP.
IV.
Ch. I. s.
2. of this
Hist.

Odyss.
1. 3. v. 191.

We have seen that, in the large and valuable island of CRETE, a regular free government, under the presidency of an hereditary prince, was established almost before Grecian history can be said to begin. The naval power acquired by Minos decayed after him, and the Argive princes gained the superiority in the Grecian seas, together with the sovereignty of the smaller islands nearest to the continent of Greece. Yet Idomeneus, grandson of Minos, and commander of the Cretan troops in the Trojan war, was among the most powerful of the Grecian chiefs of his time. He was, according to Homer's credible testimony, one of the few who returned safe from that expedition; nor does any considerable revolution in Crete appear to have been known either to Homer or Hesiod. Soon after them however it must have been that monarchy was abolished there. What caused

yet extant; but never was more emphatically expressed than in a phrase of the laws of Edgar: *Ic þille*, says the royal Legislator, speaking with the authority of his Witenagemote, *þar ælc man ry Folcrichter pynð, ȝe eafme ȝe eadig;* * which, notwithstanding the general energy of the English language, can scarcely be rendered in modern terms with equal force. This it was for which our forefathers contended, when, in the reigns of the early Norman princes, they so often and so earnestly demanded the restoration of the Saxon laws: and this it was that gave origin to the **JUDICIUM PARIUM AUT LEGEM TERRÆ** of Magna Charta, which that famous deed has sanctified as the birthright of every Englishman, the **FOLKRIGHT** of the land.

* L. L. Anglosax. D. Wilkins. p. 77.

the revolution, or how it was effected, we have no SECT.
II. authentic information : but some very important consequences are strongly authenticated. The government established in the room of monarchy could not maintain itself entire ; it fell into pieces, the principal towns separating themselves into independent commonwealths. The Cretan power and the Cretan character then sunk together, never to rise again. As a military people indeed the Cretans always supported a considerable reputation, and their naval skill became proverbial. But their military prowess, except when, in later times, exerted in hired service, was confined to wars among themselves, and their naval exploits are unheard of but in piracy. Annoying thus to all around them, it is from those whom they so annoyed that farther information about them has reached us. Nevertheless their laws, though Strabo,
l. 10. p. 481. greatly altered, held fame for what they had been, but their national character for want of probity became infamous ; nor ever, after the Trojan war, was Crete of any considerable weight in the scale of Grecian politics.⁷

Of the states on the continent of Greece ARGOS was among the first to abolish monarchy ; or however

⁷ Κρής πρὸς Αἴγυνήτην seems to have been an early proverb of nearly the same import as our English, Set a thief to catch a thief. Polybius, in the fourth, and still more particularly in the sixth book of his history, speaks strongly to the infamy of the Cretan character, and even denies all merit to the Cretan laws and constitution ; which were probably in his time much altered from what, as he says, the ablest of the elder writers, Ephorus, Xenophon, Callisthenes, and Plato, held in high esteem. The change indeed is particularly remarked by Strabo : Περὶ δὲ τῆς Κρήτης ὁμολογεῖται ὅτι κατὰ τοὺς παλαιοὺς χρόνους ἐτύγχανεν εὐνομούμενη, καὶ ζηλωτὰς ἔαντης τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπέφηνεν.—"Υερον δὲ πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον μετέβαλεν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον. Strab. l. 10. p. 477.

CHAP. so to reduce its powers that we hardly perceive among
IV. historians whether it existed or no. The Argive

Pausan. government is said to have become republican so
1. 2. c. 19. early as on the death of Cisus, son of the founder
 of the Heraclidean dynasty, Temenus. But neither
 was Argos fortunate in the change. In its defective
 history indeed we read of scarcely anything but dis-
 orders, and those often of extraordinary violence. We
 learn that the higher and lower ranks were continu-
 ally at variance, but the democratical faction was gene-
 rally superior: the priesthood had peculiar authority:
 sometimes tyrants raised themselves over all, and
 once (a misery which must have required a constant
 and severely watchful eye in all the ancient republics)
 the slaves got possession of the city, and filled the
 magistracies. Originally an ill-constituted govern-
 ment, no legislator of superior wisdom and probity
 ever acquired the power, and no fortunate train of
 circumstances ever occurred of themselves, to unite
 liberty and administration upon a firm and even
 basis.

Herodot. One famous tyrant, Phidon, lineal successor
1. 6. c. 127. of the Heraclidae, a prince of great abilities but no
Strabo, moderation, raised himself rather than his country to
1. 8. p. 358. a superiority which ceased with him. Under its
Pausan. republican government, impotent abroad as unhappy
1. 6. c. 22. at home, Argos finally lost that preeminence which
 under monarchical rule it had obtained among the
 Grecian states. Far from leading the affairs of Pe-
 loponnesus, every little town of Argolis itself resisted
 the Argive dominion: Mycenæ long asserted inde-
 pendence: Hermione, Trœzen, Epidaurus, Phlius,
 Sicyon, and the island of Ægina, members of the
 Argive state under the Heraclidean kings, but early
 revolting after the abolition of hereditary first-ma-
 gistracy, maintained themselves as self-governed

republics. Asinæa, and even Nauplia, the immediate sea-port of Argos, joined in a hostile league. Cynuria, Thyrea, and Prasiæ were conquered by Lacedæmon.

SECT.
II.

It was probably to resist the measures of the Argive people for enforcing obedience from so many towns, which had been members of the Argolic kingdom, but would not bear the republican rule of citizens of Argos, that an institution was formed unnoticed by extant historians, but fortunately recorded by the geographer. In the little island of Calaurea, at the mouth of the harbour of Trœzen, was held what is called by Strabo a sort of Amphictyonic council.⁸ Calaurea was sacred to Neptune, whose temple there was among the most venerated and inviolable sanctuaries of Greece; a commodious place of meeting therefore for the councils of the oppressed. The assembly was composed of deputies from the revolted Argive cities, Hermione, Epidaurus, Ægina, Nauplia, and Prasiæ; with the remarkable addition of Athens and the Minyean Orchomenus, a title by which Orchomenus in Bœotia was distinguished from the town of the same name in Arcadia. Of the purpose of this meeting and of its transactions farther than a common sacrifice to the god we have no direct information; but a common sacrifice implied some political connexion, a defensive alliance at least, between the cities in whose name and for whose welfare it was offered. It seems indeed not dubious that, though the ostensible ceremonies of the meeting were principally religious, the ultimate object was political; and the institution is likely to have contributed much toward establishing the independency of the revolted Argive towns.

⁸ Αμφικτυονία τις. Strab. l. 8. p. 374.

CHAP. How Athens became engaged in this confederacy we
IV. are not directly informed; but we find Athens, from very early to very late times, taking an interest in the troubles of Argos, and generally much connected with a party there. Any ground for the association of the Boëtian Orchomenus is less obvious. It may be that the Orchomenians, the allies of the Athenians against Thebes, acceded to the league, from their recommendation and example. And the people of Orchomenus (after Thebes the most powerful town of Bœotia, and head of the opposition to that claim of command over all which Thebes asserted) it is probable would have a fellow feeling with the people of the revolted Argolic towns.

Little as hath been transmitted concerning the formation and transactions of this institution, yet its importance remains strongly marked. The Argives did not rest while Nauplia was hostile, so near a neighbour, and commanding their readiest communication with the sea. Commanding however in their turn all approaches to it by land, they at length compelled the people to surrender the place, with allowance to emigrate. When this happened, so defective is Grecian history concerning other affairs than those of Athens, and with Athens Lacedæmon, we are uninformed. Towards a just notion of the character of Grecian politics however it may deserve observation, that the Argives, after having so acquired possession of Nauplia, claimed succession to the rights of its former people to send representatives to attend the Calaurean sacrifices; such is the geographer's phrase, implying a right to attend the councils: and that claim, Argos being probably then, as generally, in alliance with Athens, was admitted. Afterward the Lacedæmonians, on reducing Prasiæ under their dominion,

or receiving it into their protection, claimed to send representatives for that town; and Lacedæmon accordingly was added to the Calaurean league. SECT. II.

But this accession of the greater Grecian republics, instead of giving permanent splendor and importance to the Calaurean council, seems to have been the immediate cause of its sinking into insignificance. While the purpose was to maintain a league among the Argolic towns for general defence, the council was equal to its object, and for its object respectable. But when, by the allowed independency of those towns, this object vanished, the regulation of the jarring interests of Athens, Argos, and Lacedæmon, which should have succeeded as the business of the meeting, was what those states would scarcely submit to the votes of deputies from the little cities of Epidaurus, Hermione, Ægina, and Orchomenus. The political business of the assembly therefore ceased, and the importance attached to the religious ceremonies alone seems to have preserved it from utter oblivion. But as, among the circumstances of Grecian history, nothing more marks the general character of the national politics, so nothing will more deserve the consideration of the modern politician than the various attempts toward federal union among the republics, and the inefficacy of those attempts.

We have already remarked the fortunate situation of CORINTH, by which that city became very early the greatest emporium of Greece. It was fortunate also in its constitution, which it is said to have owed to Phidon, a prince of uncertain age, but who has been supposed nearly contemporary with Lycurgus. Aristot. Polit. I. 2. c. 6. Monarchy, the balanced monarchy of early times, flourished there, without violence or commotion to engage the notice of history, longer than in any other

CHAP. IV. of the principal Grecian cities, Sicyon alone excepted.

Pausan.

L 2. c. 4.

Olym. 30.

3d year;

B. C.

658. N.

Bef. 1st Ol.

3 years;

B. C.

779. B.

At length the Bacchiadæ (a numerous branch of the royal family, so named from their ancestor Bacchis, fifth monarch in succession from Aletes) put to death Telestes the reigning prince, and assuming the government in association, formed an oligarchy. The laws and the spirit of the old constitution nevertheless were in large measure preserved. An annual magistrate presided, with the title of Prytanis, but with very limited prerogatives: and though oligarchies were generally odious, yet Corinth flourished under the Bacchiadæ. Syracuse and Coreyra, Corinthian colonies, appear to have been under their administration subject to the mother-country. Afterward they acquired independency: but the early power and wealth of both, and still more the friendly connexion of Syracuse with the parent state, remaining through many ages, prove the wisdom with which they were settled. Syracuse became important enough to require a history by itself. Coreyra founded early its own colonies Epidamnus and Apollonia in Illyria. After the Bacchiadæ had held the administration of Corinth during some generations, they were expelled by Cypselus; who, according to the Grecian writers, in his own person restored monarchy, or, according to the term which became popular, tyranny; though, as superior wisdom and virtue alone never were supposed to give a claim to the titles of king or tyrant, it scarcely appears by what right Cypselus bore either.⁹ He was in truth the head of a party, by the strength and through the favor of which he ruled. Determined

⁹ Little or nothing seems fairly to be gathered from the loose invective, following a strange romantic story, which Herodotus puts into the mouth of a man pleading with vehemence the cause of a party. Herod. l. 5. c. 92.

to rest his authority, and even his safety, wholly on SECT. II.
 his good deeds and his power of attaching to himself _____
 the affections of men, he constantly refused the in-
 vidious, but not unusual, distinction of a guard, to
 protect his person against those attempts of the de- Aristot.
 feated faction which, from the common violence of Polit. I. 5.
 c. 12. party in Grecian commonwealths, might be enough
 to be apprehended. Nevertheless, though his virtues,
 and particularly his moderation and clemency, were
 eminent, he is by Grecian writers universally called
 tyrant of Corinth, and his government tyranny. His
 son Periander, who succeeded to his power, is not
 equally famed for the mildness of his administration;
 yet for his abilities, learning, and munificent en-
 couragement of learned men, was ranked among the
 sages celebrated by the title of the Seven Wise Men Ol. 55. 4.
 of Greece. Periander was also succeeded by his son, B. C.
 whose reign however was short. It was succeeded by 557. N.
 Ol. 48. 4. a commonwealth; in which enough was retained of B. C.
 585. B. the oligarchy to temper the turbulence and capri-
 ciousness of democratical rule; and Corinth, though
 not the most renowned, had perhaps the happiest go-
 vernment among the Grecian republics. The local
 circumstances of the city appear indeed to have in-
 fluenced the disposition of the people; directing it
 to commerce and arts more than to politics, arms, or
 science; though in these also they acquired their
 share of fame. They, first among the Greeks, built Thucyd.
 vessels of that improved construction for war (whose l. I. c. 13.
 form is now not certainly known) which we commonly Ol. 30. 4.
 distinguish by the Latin name Trireme; and the first B. C.
 657. N. sea-fight recorded in any history was between Corinth Ol. 29. 1.
 664. B. and its own colony of Corcyra. The Isthmian games,
 comparatively a late establishment, though boasting
 of great antiquity, were celebrated within the terri-

CHAP.
IV.

tory and under the direction of the Corinthians, and brought them considerable advantages. Luxury indeed was the unfailing attendant upon wealth: but colonization and commerce no less certainly produced naval power: and Corinth, though never singly formidable, was always respected among the Grecian states.¹⁰

Of all the cities of Greece SICYON, reputed the oldest, had the good fortune to remain longest under that mild and steady government, derived from the heroic ages, in which hereditary princes presided, and fixed laws or customs, venerated for their antiquity and loved for their proved utility, restrained the extravagant use equally of power in the chiefs and of liberty in the people. So late as the age of Solon this constitution remained in full vigor; when under Clisthenes, a prince of superior merit, Sicyon flourished

Aristot.
Polit. 1. 5.
c. 12.
Herod. 1. 6.
Pausan.
1. 2. & 1. 10.

¹⁰ Though Pindar's business was panegyric, yet he would panegyrize upon the best grounds that his subject afforded: and he seems justly to have characterized Corinth in terms of eulogy that would have been but preposterously applied to most of the Grecian cities:

Γνώσομαι
Τὰν δὲ θεαν Κόρινθον, Ἰσθμίου
Πρόδυον Ποτειδάνος, ἀγλαόκουρον.
Ἐν τῷ γὰρ Εὐνομίᾳ ναῖει, καστίγ-
νηται τε, Δίκα, πολίων
Ἄσφαλτες βάθρον, καὶ διδ-
τροπος Ειράνα, ταμιαῖ
Ἀνδράσι πλούτον, χρύσεαι
Παιᾶς εὐθούλου Θέμιτος.

Olymp. 13.

- - - - - Let my lays

The fame of happy Corinth bear afar:
Which as a gate to Neptune's isthmus stands,
Proud of her blooming youth and manly bands.
There fair Eunomia, with her sister train,
Blest Peace and Justice, hold their steady reign;
Who wealth and smiling ease on mortals show'r,
From Themis' genial care drawing their natal hour.

Pye's Translation of the Olympic Odes not translated by West.

SECT.
II.

singularly, and even held a leading situation among the Grecian states. It was the misfortune of Sicyon that Clisthenes had no son. His only daughter carried the moveable wealth of the family to Athens, by marriage with Megacles, head of the illustrious house of the Alcmæonidæ there. No chief remaining of dignity above competition, Sicyon was torn by contending factions; and under republican government importance abroad and happiness at home sunk together.

ACHAIA, during some generations, remained united under monarchs, the posterity of Tisamenus son of Orestes. The tyrannical conduct of Gyges, or Ogyges, the last prince of that race, excited his subjects against him: and the twelve principal towns became so many independent and inconsiderable commonwealths. A federal union was preserved among them, but too imperfect for Achaia to take any important share in the political affairs of Greece.

The very singular circumstances of ELEA, which in a great degree secluded its people from politics and war, have been already mentioned. But it was not possible by any institutions to destroy that elasticity given by the Author of nature to the mind of man, which continually excites to action, often palpably against interest, and which was strong in the general temper of the Greeks. Mostly indeed attached to rural business and rural pleasures, the Eleans confined their ambition to the flattering pre-eminence allowed them in the splendid assembly of principal people from every Grecian state at the Olympian festival, and the perhaps yet more flattering respect in which their sacred character was universally held; which was such that the armies of the

Polyb.
l. 2. p. 128.
Strabo, l. 8.
p. 383. 384.

Strabo,
l. 8. p. 358. most powerful states of Greece, having occasion to cross any part of the Elean territory, surrendered their weapons on entering, in trust to receive them again on passing the borders. Yet restless spirits arose, not to be so satisfied. Often the Eleans engaged as auxiliaries in the wars of other states; generally indeed on pretence of asserting the cause of religion. But in that cause itself they could not agree among themselves. During some generations, while monarchy subsisted in the posterity of Iphitus, Elis continued united under one government. But at length the spirit of democracy prevailed there as elsewhere in Greece, and with the same effects. Every considerable town claimed independency, or at least equality in confederacy with the rest, while

Herodot.
l. 4. c. 148. Elis asserted authority over all; and Olympia became, for all, an object of contention. Situated

Strabo,
l. 8. p. 353. within the territory of Pisa, on the northern bank of the river Alpheus, which alone separated its precinct from that city, the Pisæans insisted that the right to the guardianship of the temple, and superintendence

Herodot.
l. 6. c. 127. of the festival, was clearly theirs. The Eleans, on the contrary, claimed it exclusively. Wars arose between the two states: each endeavoured to gain allies; and at one time Phidon, the powerful tyrant of Argos, interfering, assumed to himself, as hereditary representative of Hercules, the guardianship of the temple, and presidency of the festival. At

Strabo,
l. 8. p. 355. other times the Pisæans prevailed; and they presided at some Olympiads: but at length, though at what time we are not certainly informed, the Eleans destroyed Pisa, so that scarcely a ruin remained; and thenceforward, excepting in the hundred and fourth Olympiad, when the Arcadians violently in-

Diod. Sic.
l. 15. c. 78.
Pausan.
l. 5. c. 10.
&l. 6. c. 22.

terfered, they held the presidency undisturbed while the festival existed.¹¹ The other towns of Elea then mostly fell under their dominion.

SECT.
II.

ARCADIA was early divided into many small states, of which some retained long the legal form of government, or, to use modern terms perhaps more ana-

¹¹ We have no connected history of these events from any one ancient author; and the scraps of information remaining from writers of best authority are not easily reconcilable. Pausanias affirms that the Eleans engaged Phidon, tyrant of Argos, to protect them against the Pisaeans in the celebration of the eighth Olympiad.* According to the report to which Strabo gave most credit where it appears he esteemed none certain, the Eleans held the presidency of the festival till the twenty-sixth Olympiad.† He does not say how or by whom they were then deprived of it; but in a prior passage he relates that Phidon, king of Argos, tenth in descent from Temenus the Heraclidean, the most powerful Grecian prince of his age, assumed to himself the presidency of the Olympic festival.‡ A similar account is given by Herodotus.§ Strabo adds, that the Eleans, utterly dissatisfied, did not register that Olympiad, but reckoned it among what they termed Anolympiads; and that upon occasion of this violence of the Argive prince they first departed from their original principle of trusting wholly to their sacred character for security, and applied themselves to the practice of arms. With assistance from Lacedæmon, they at length defeated Phidon, and acquired the territories of the Pisatis and Triphylia. Strabo assigns no dates to any of these events. But Pausanias says that the Pisaeans under their prince Pantaleon rejected the Eleans in the thirty-fourth Olympiad, and held the presidency of the festival till after the forty-eighth. He has not marked with precision the time when the Eleans recovered it, and destroyed Pisa: but he says the Eleans called all those festivals, at which the Pisaeans presided, Anolympiads, and did not register them in their catalogue. These discordances and deficiencies in the accounts of two such authors as Strabo and Pausanias deserve the consideration of those who desire to know what credit is due to the Olympic chronology for the times before the Persian war.

* b. 6. c. 22.

† Strab. l. 8. p. 355.

‡ p. 355.

§ b. 6. c. 127.

CHAP. IV. logous to the circumstances, they were under the rule of chiefs like the Scottish highland lairds; for the country, wholly inland, being mostly mountainous, and the people generally herdsmen, the towns were small, and their inhabitants unpolished. Some improvements however would come to them from their neighbours, and some were suggested by necessity. When bordering states increased in power, the scattered inhabitants of mountain villages were no longer equal to the protection of their herds and their freedom; for men, together with their cattle, were still principal objects of plunder. Toward the southern frontier, where the most formidable neighbours arose, the land, though high above the level of the sea, spread more into plains, and afforded opportunity for advantageous tillage. There nine villages uniting made Tegea a considerable city; and five others joined to form that of Mantinea.

Strabo,
l. 8. p. 337.

SECTION III.

History of Lacedæmon. Legislation of Lycurgus.

The conquering Heraclidæ had scarcely decided upon the division of Peloponnesus when Aristodemus, to whose share Laconia fell, died, leaving new-born twin sons, Eurysthenes and Procles. The mother, it is said, through impartial fondness, refusing to declare which was the elder, it was determined that both those princes should succeed to the throne of their father, with equal authority, and that the posterity of each should inherit the rights of their respective ancestors. Laconia was esteemed a territory of inferior value to both Argolis and Messenia; yet so early as the Trojan war we find Lacedæmon

Herodot.
l. 5. c. 52.
Plat. de
Leg. l. 3.
p. 683. t. 2.
Pausan.
l. 3. c. 1.
Strabo,
l. 8. p. 366.
Pausan.
l. 4. c. 3.

reckoned among the richest and most powerful cities of Greece. The divided royalty indeed, now established, was apparently a form of government little likely to be lasting in itself, or to give power or happiness to the people who lived under it; but as in the natural body a fever often leads to a renewal of the constitution, so still more, in the political, advantageous establishments commonly owe their very conception to violent disorders. Jealousy, as might be expected, arose between the kings; but hence it became necessary for each to court the favor of the people: and while, in other Grecian states, the tyranny of the one king drove the multitude to assume by violent means the supreme power to themselves, in Lacedæmon the concessions of the two gave by degrees such importance to the people that the royal authority scarcely remained an object of either terror or envy. Thus however the powers of government were at length so weakened that the worst of all tyrannies, anarchy, prevailed in Sparta. The evils of this lawless situation appear to have been sometimes checked by abler princes, who led the contentious spirit of the people to exert itself in foreign wars in which some successes were obtained. Little however of importance occurs among the traditions concerning the Lacedæmonian state till Lycurgus, of the race of Procles, succeeded his brother Polydectes in the throne. Nor are we informed with the certainty that might be expected, in what age, or even with what contemporaries, this extraordinary man lived. But the full assurance we have of the subsistence, through many centuries, of that wonderful phenomenon in politics and in the history of humanity, the Spartan system, the establishment of which is by the strongest concurrence of authorities

SECT.
III.

Plut. vit.
Lycurg.
Thucyd.

l. l. c. 13.

Herodot.
l. l. c. 65.
Isocr.
Panath.
p. 543. t. 2.
Strabo,
l. 8. p. 365.
Plut. vit.
Lycurg.
Pausan. l. 3.
c. 2. & 7.

CHAP. IV. referred to him, may teach us that we ought not to refuse our belief to a relation of facts merely because they are strange; and moreover that the uncertainty of the date of any event in those early ages, when no regular method of dating was in use, is no argument that the event itself is uncertain.¹²

According to that account which Plutarch seems to have preferred, Lycurgus was fifth in descent from Procles, and tenth from Hercules. When the sceptre devolved to him, by the death of his brother, the widow of that prince was breeding. According to the same author, he was no sooner assured of this, than he publicly declared that he held the throne thenceforward upon trust only, to resign it to his brother's child, if it should prove a son: and dropping accordingly the title of king, he retained the royal power as Prodigus, or protector only. I proceed with this anecdote, which found credit with the best ancient historians, and may the rather deserve notice as tending to account for that veneration borne to the character of Lycurgus, which enabled him to execute what an ordinary legislator could not prudently have attempted. The princess, we are told, more solicitous to remain a queen than to become a mother, caused private intimation to be given to

Strabo,
I. 10. p. 482.
Plut. vit.
Lycurg.
Justin.
l. 3. c. 2.

¹² The most judicious writers of antiquity have contributed to the perplexity about the age of Lycurgus: Thucydides, b. 1. c. 18. Plato in Minos, Xenophon of the Lacedæmonian Commonwealth, and Aristotle on Government. Eratosthenes and Apollodorus the chronologers undertook to decide upon it; but Plutarch, in the beginning of his Life of Lycurgus, sufficiently lets us know what credit is due to their decision. Perhaps the best modern attempt to reconcile the discord of ancient authors on the subject, as far as the succession of the Lacedæmonian kings only is concerned, may be found in note 32. p. 31. of Wesseling's Herodotus.

Lycurgus that, if he would marry her, no child of his late brother's should ever interfere with his possession of the throne. The protector thought it prudent, in the weakness of government and licentiousness of the times, to dissemble his abhorrence of so atrocious a proposal. He only insisted that the queen should not endanger her own life and health by any attempts to procure abortion, and he would provide, he said, that the child when born should be no hindrance to his wishes. When she drew near her time he placed trusty persons in waiting about her, whom he directed, if she produced a girl, to leave it to the women, but if a boy, to bring it immediately to him wheresoever he might be. It happened that he was supping in public with the principal magistrates when the queen was delivered of a son, which, according to command, was instantly carried to him. He received the child in his arms, and addressing himself to those present, ‘Spartans,’ he said, ‘a king is born to you;’ and immediately placed the infant in the royal seat. Observing then the joy which prevailed through the company, rather from admiration of his prudence and uprightness than from any cause they had to rejoice at the birth of a son to the late king, he named the boy Charilaus, which signifies the people’s joy.¹³

But notwithstanding the power and influence which Lycurgus derived from his high birth and high office, together with the esteem in which he was held by all good men, it was not difficult, amid the general lawlessness prevalent in Sparta, for the brother of the queen-mother to raise a strong faction against him.

¹³ Χαρίλαον ὀνόμασε, διὰ τὸ τοὺς πάντας εἶναι περιχαρεῖς.

Plut. Lycurg.

CHAP. IV. Finding it therefore no season to attempt that reformation in the state which he had meditated, he determined, being yet a very young man, to indulge his appetite for knowledge by visiting the foreign countries most celebrated for art and science ; the only way, in that early age, by which a desire of knowledge could be gratified. Voluntarily, or involuntarily, he left the administration of Sparta to his opponents, and passed to Crete; induced by its singular laws and institutions, hitherto the most renowned of Greece. There he formed an intimacy with Thales, a poet of great abilities, whom he engaged so far in his designs as to persuade him to pass to Sparta, and, by popular poems adapted to the purpose, to prepare the minds of the people for those alterations of government and manners which himself was already meditating. It is said that he also visited Asia Minor, where Homer's poems were then popular, and that on his return he first brought them into reputation in Greece.

The disorders of Sparta meanwhile became extreme. The kings could maintain no authority, the laws were without efficacy, anarchy prevailed, and all ranks suffered. Such is Plutarch's account, sufficiently consonant to what remains from earlier authors, and moreover to what we are assured were ordinary circumstances among the Greek republics in following ages. Those disorders appear to have arisen from a tyrannical disposition in the rich, and a spirit of opposition with an aversion to industry in the poor; unfailing consequences of domestic slavery: moreover the laws being unwritten were uncertain; and regal power, weak through division, leaned sometimes on either faction; and sometimes took opposite parts, unable to hold the balance between the two.

Herodot.
I. 1. c. 65.
Aristot.
Polit.
I. 2. c. 8.
Plut. Lyc.

Strabo,
I. 10. p. 482.
Plut. Lyc.

Ælian
var. Hist.
I. 13. c. 14.

Herodot.
I. 1. c. 65.
Thucyd.
I. 1. c. 18.
Xen. de
rep. Lac.

In this situation of things the name of Lycurgus was frequently mentioned : his approved integrity, his unshaken courage, his extensive genius, his popular manners, and that power which above all others he possessed of commanding the minds of men were recalled to public attention. At length it was agreed by kings and people to invite him to return to his country, and, in quality of legislator, to reform the state. He joyfully received the summons ; but, in undertaking so arduous an office, he proceeded with the utmost circumspection to avail himself of whatever the temper and prejudices of the times offered that might contribute to his success. He had already imperceptibly begun the business by the poems of Thales ; poetry being in those days, while letters were little known, the general mean of popular instruction, and often successfully used to excite popular passion. But before he would exercise his new authority, he went to Delphi to procure the opinion of a divine sanction to his institutions. The directors of the oracle favored his wishes, and he carried back that celebrated response, as Plutarch calls it, in which the Pythoness declared, ‘ That he was singularly favored by the gods ; himself more god than man ; and that it should be given him to establish the most excellent of all systems of government.’

Armed with this high authority, in addition to that before derived from the voice of his country, he returned to Sparta ; having already, it should seem, formed his plan, not merely for giving laws to a state, but for totally new-modelling a people, and making them other beings, different from all besides of human race. But with ideas of a boldness verging upon extravagance, he never failed to observe the most prudent caution in carrying them into execution. He

SECT.
III.

Justin.
l. 3. c. 2.
Plut. vit.
Lycurg.

Plut. Lyc.
Herodot.
l. 1. c. 65.
Xen. Mem.
Socr.

CHAP.
IV. began with assembling the principal citizens, to consult concerning a plan of reformation ; but at this meeting he disclosed nothing of his design. He advised then with his more particular friends privately : and to these he opened his designs more or less as he found them disposed. When he had thus formed a party which he supposed strong enough to support his measures, the kings Archelaus and Charilaus still strangers to his purposes, he summoned an assembly of the people. As the multitude thronged the Agora, that place in Grecian towns which served equally the purpose of a market and a general meeting for public debate, alarm was taken at the appearance of Lycurgus's confidential friends in arms. Charilaus observing a tumult, unaware of the cause, and unprepared for defence, immediately fled to a neighbouring temple ; but receiving assurance that no violence was intended, and being of a complying temper, he returned to the assembly, and joined his uncle's party. Archelaus, with more inclination, was thus left with means too inadequate to attempt resistance ; and Lycurgus proceeded unopposed. He committed the executive power of the state to a senate composed of thirty persons ; twenty-eight selected from among those leading men in whom he could most confide, and the two kings as presidents. To this body he gave also the most important part of the legislative authority ; for laws were to originate there only. To the assembly of the people he entrusted merely the power of confirming or annulling what the senate proposed, forbidding them all debate : the members gave a simple affirmative or negative, without being allowed to speak even so far as to declare why they gave either. To the people however he committed the future election of senators, confining

only their choice to persons who had passed their sixtieth year. The prerogatives of the kings consisted in being commanders in chief of the armies, hereditary senators, and high priests of the nation.

SECT.
III.

Aristot.
Polit.
l. 3. c. 14.

Plat. de
Leg. l. 3.
p. 684. t. 2.

Plut. Lye.

We find it mentioned by Plato that, when the Heraclidæ established themselves in Peloponnesus, the lands throughout their conquests were equally divided among their followers. If this were so, the next measure of Lycurgus would lose something of that appearance of extreme boldness with which it strikes, as it is ordinarily reported. All the evils that can arise in an unsettled ill-constituted government from the accumulation of wealth into few hands were daily experienced in Sparta: the poor suffered from the oppression of the rich; the rich were in perpetual danger from the despair of the poor; and where laws neither restrained nor protected, dark fraud or open and atrocious violence were the unceasing produce of avarice, suspicion, and misery. To combat such inveterate and complicated mischief, said Lycurgus, by ordinary methods of criminal courts and penal laws, were replete with uncertainty, danger, and even cruelty, to a degree that cannot be foreseen. How much better were it, instead of arming the hand of the executioner against the effect, at once to remove the cause! He had begun his work by securing those of higher rank to his party, and by the establishment of the senate had placed almost all legal authority in their hands. But he did not mean a partial benefit: he would extend the advantage of his laws equally to all, leaving no distinction but of age and merit. In his present purpose he was sure of the most numerous party, the poor; and these, headed by himself, would immediately become the most powerful. We have no tradition that this measure, so opposite to the

CHAP.
IV.

strongest passions and prejudices of mankind, produced any commotion. The principal land-owners were persuaded to part peaceably with their possessions, that they might preserve their authority; foreseeing probably that resistance would but occasion the loss of both. Thus was effected in Lacedæmon that extraordinary division of lands which allotted to every family an equal share, and banished, according to Plutarch's expression, all distinction between man and man, other than what arose from the praise of virtuous, and the reproach of unworthy deeds. The whole territory of Laconia was divided into thirty-nine thousand shares, nine thousand of which were assigned to the city of Sparta, the rest to other townships.

This regulation however would have been vain but for another which attended it: Lycurgus forbade absolutely all use of gold and silver. Coin he allowed, but of iron only; which was too weighty and cumbersome in proportion to its value for inordinate wealth to be easily either accumulated or used.¹⁴ Among other objects which the legislature thus attained was the check of foreign commerce, and intercourse with strangers. The Spartan money was despised through Greece: foreign ships henceforth were little seen in the ports of Laconia: flatterers, fortunetellers, and panders, says Plutarch, avoided the hostile territory; and all the trades subservient to luxury were effectually banished. The exchange only of the superfluous produce of the earth against useful foreign commodities was permitted.

¹⁴ Iron money was not absolutely peculiar to Sparta; but that it was nearly so appears clearly from all the most authoritative ancient writers who have mentioned it, and particularly from Polybius, b. 6. p. 492.

The next ordinance was not carried so quietly. SECT.
III. Following in some degree the Cretan model, Lycurgus absolutely forbade that any man should live at home; strictly ordaining that all, even the kings, should eat at public tables only, where the strictest moderation and frugality should be observed. His former law struck at the root of luxury: this aimed at the destruction of every scattered seed, at the annihilation of every use of wealth, of the very desire to possess more than others. None of his innovations, we are told, gave so much offence. In an assembly of the people so violent an outcry was raised against him that, apprehensive of the burst of popular passion, and of the advantage that might be taken of it by his particular enemies, he retired toward a neighbouring temple. A youth named Alcander, of one of the first families of Sparta, among others, pursued him, and, as he turned, struck him in the face with a stick, and put out an eye. Lycurgus notwithstanding reached the temple; and finding that the multitude were not so excessive in their fury as to forget the respect due, in the opinion of the times, to the sanctity of the asylum, he exhibited to them his lacerated countenance dropping with gore; and when he had at length procured silence and attention, spoke with such moderation of temper, and such force of persuasion, that he converted their rage into pity and remorse; insomuch that on the spot they delivered up Alcander to abide his judgment. Lycurgus drew advantage from every circumstance. Instead of condemning Alcander to punishment, he brought him by gentle argument and engaging behaviour to condemn himself; and in the end gained him from being his most violent opponent to become his most strenuous partizan. Persisting then in his measure, he not only Polyb.
l. 6. p. 492.

Xenoph.
de Rep.
Lacon.
Aristot.
Polit.
I. 2. c. 5.

CHAP. IV. procured the establishment of it, but he went farther. The more completely to ensure equality, and to repress every desire of superfluities, he directed that none should refuse to lend whatsoever he was not immediately using; and that any might take, even without asking, whatsoever he wanted of his neighbour's, being only bound to replace it undamaged. Private property thus was nearly annihilated.

These extraordinary changes being effected, he had little to fear from popular opposition to what farther he might wish to establish; the principal remaining difficulty was to provide for the permanency of what was already done. We are not informed with any certainty what progress letters had then made in Greece: but we are told that he would have none of his laws written; he would have them considered as oracles, as emanations from that divine response, which sanctified the voice of his country that had appointed him to the office of legislator; he would have them engraved in the hearts of the people: and to effect this, he endeavoured so to direct the education of the rising generation that his institutions might be as a law of nature to them. In abolishing distinction of rank, it was his intention not to depress but to elevate his fellow-countrymen; to give every Lacedæmonian those advantages which in other states a few only can enjoy; to make the whole people one family, every brother of which equally should receive the most liberal education, and equally live in the most liberal manner. The exercise of mechanical arts, and even of agriculture, was totally forbidden to free Lacedæmonians. Slavery therefore was necessary, and slaves must be numerous. For the law required that every Lacedæmonian should be, in the strictest sense of the modern term, a gentleman,

without business but that of the state, for which, in peace and in war it was the purpose of education equally to fit every one who bore the Lacedæmonian name.

And here, as in everything else, Lycurgus carried his views far beyond those of ordinary legislators. Having directed the institutions already mentioned against internal evils, of which wealth is elsewhere so plentiful a source, it was necessary now to provide against external violence: and while, for the first purpose, he made his fellow-countrymen a nation of philosophers, he would, for the other, make them a nation of soldiers, superior to all the rest of mankind. Indeed the large proportion of slaves in every Grecian state, not less than the small extent of territory, made this peculiarly necessary throughout Greece, and hence both the Spartan and Cretan legislators were induced to adapt their constitutions principally to a state of warfare. Lycurgus began with the care of children before their birth: he would have none born but strong and able men. In other countries great pains are taken to have the more useful brutes perfect in their kind. In England the science of breeding horses and dogs of the most generous temper, and highest bodily ability, has been carried to extraordinary perfection. Lacedæmon is the only country known in history where attention was ever paid to the breed of men. Lycurgus, considering those from whom the future race of Spartans was to spring as of high consequence to the state, gave very particular directions for the management of the young women. Instead of that close confinement, and those sedentary employments of the distaff and the needle, to which the other Grecian ladies were condemned, he ordered that they should be exercised in running, wrestling,

Plat.
de Leg.
1. 1. init.

CHAP. IV. and throwing the quoit and the javelin; that they should live little within doors, and avoid those indulgencies which elsewhere make those above the lowest rank of women generally so tender and helpless. Thus, he thought, both themselves would better support the pains of childbearing, and the children born of them would be more vigorous. It was customary among all the Greeks for the men to appear in public quite naked at their athletic exercises. Lycurgus directed that the young women should all, at certain festivals, appear in public without any covering, dance thus in presence of the young men, and sing, addressing themselves particularly to them.¹⁵ The opinion of the sanctity of wedlock, and the respect for the purity of the marriage-bed, which were common through Greece, he thought in many instances inconvenient; and his morality was always made subservient to his political purposes. To be unmarried, and without children for the commonwealth, he caused to be accounted shameful; but it was indifferent who was the father, provided the child was a fine one.¹⁶ For he reckoned all children to belong not so much to their parents as to the state, the common parent of all; and considering jealousy as a passion often mischievous, and always useless, he contrived to banish it from

¹⁵ This practice, as we learn from Plato, was not peculiar to Sparta, having been before established in Crete.* The Athenian philosopher was so satisfied with it that he would introduce it in his projected republic; but he nevertheless gives us to understand that the Athenian people in general, as well as all the rest of the ancient world, thought of it nearly as modern Europeans would.†

¹⁶ Plato not only approved this, but proposed to carry the principle to a still greater extreme.

Sparta by making it ridiculous. Nevertheless, with a morality so loose, he insisted upon the strictest modesty of general behaviour, both in women and in men. Virgins went with uncovered faces, but matrons veiled; their proper duty being to please their husbands only; and it was forbidden for any man to praise another's wife. Promiscuous concubinage indeed, every politician, independently of any moral consideration, would prevent: and Lycurgus found means in his system, which with any other it would have been impossible to have put in practice. He made it disgraceful and criminal in young men to be seen in company with young women, even with their wives. The married youth was to continue his exercises with the young men by day; he was to sleep in the common dormitory at night: and it was only by stealth, and with the utmost caution, that he could visit his bride. Though it was held in itself right that he should visit her, yet shame, public rebuke, even stripes, were the consequence of his being seen going or coming; insomuch that it was held creditable for a man, that his wife should become a mother without having ever been seen in company with her husband. It is remarkable that, of all the people of Greece, among the rough and warlike Spartans only we find the women free and respected as they were among the northern nations; and it appears still more extraordinary, when we consider what a morality was theirs. But desire of applause and dread of shame were what Lycurgus depended upon as mainsprings of his most singular political machine; and it seems to have been a very judiciously conceived part of his plan to place the women upon that independent and respectable footing, which enabled them to be powerful, as they will always be willing, and generally just,

CHAP. IV. dispensers of such reward and punishment as applause can give or reproach inflict.¹⁷

In all the Grecian republics of which we have any information we find the lives of new-born children very little considered by the law: it was generally left to the parents to decide whether to rear or abandon them. But the Spartan legislator, considering the state as the common mother, and individuals as comparatively without a right, would not leave the decision to the parents. All children presently after birth were examined by public officers appointed for the purpose: the well-formed and vigorous only were preserved; those in whom any defect either of shape or constitution appeared were exposed without mercy to perish in the wilds of mount Taygetus. And that ignorance and prejudice might not in Lacedæmon, as elsewhere, corrupt what nature had produced excellent, those judged worth preserving to the commonwealth were delivered to the care of nurses publicly provided, and properly instructed to cooperate judiciously with nature in the rearing of infants. At the age of seven years the boys were removed to the public schools; no Lacedæmonian being permitted to educate his children otherwise than according to the mode prescribed by law. The masters were chosen from among persons of the first consideration: and the schools were common places of resort for those of more advanced

¹⁷ The legislator's idea appears to have been founded on the common manners and sentiments of the heroic ages. Homer represents Hector acknowledging fear of the reproaches of the Trojan ladies:

----- 'Αλλὰ μάλ' αἰνῶς
Αἰδέομαι Τρῶας καὶ ΤΡΩΑΔΑΣ ἐλκεσιπέπλους,
Αἴ κε, κακὸς δέ, νόσφιν ἀλυσκάζω πολέμοιο.

Iliad. I. 6. v. 441.

age; all of whom, according to that principle of SECT.
III. patriotism which, above all things, Lycurgus took pains to inculcate, were to consider themselves as fathers, not of their own only, but of all the children of the commonwealth, were to be attentive to the behaviour of all, and assist in preserving good order, and in promoting the acquisition of valuable accomplishments.

The business of education at Sparta was not so much to give the knowledge of a great variety of things, as to form the passions, sentiments, and ideas to that tone which might best assimilate with the constitution of the state; and so to exercise the abilities of both body and mind as to lead them to the highest possible capacity for the performance of every thing useful, but especially of every thing useful to the commonwealth; for the love of their country was ever held out to the young Lacedæmonians as the polar star which should influence all their actions, all their affections, all their thoughts. Letters were taught for use only, not for ornament. Indeed in Plut. Lac.
ἐπιτηδεύμ.
init. Lycurgus's time books were scarcely known: but the spirit of his laws remaining still in force when literature had arrived at meridian glory in other parts of Greece, the Spartans, though always famed for wisdom, never became eminent for learning. In Spartan education however great attention was paid to conversation: loquaciousness was reprobated, but the boys were exercised at quickness in reply; and a concise sententious style of speech, with repartees and satirical jokes, was much encouraged. But what above all things were equally most valued as qualities, and most insisted on as accomplishments, were to be all-daring and all-patient, and to be highly sensible to applause and shame. It was with a view to these

CHAP. IV. that Lycurgus established that encouragement for thieving among the Lacedæmonian boys, which has by some been esteemed the disgrace of his institutions. But those who select this circumstance for blame will be found rather to misconceive the legislator. His fundamental principle was that the commonwealth was all in all; that individuals were comparatively nothing; that they had no right of property, nor even of life, but in subordination to the wants of the common parent. He had in consequence nearly abolished private property: he had in a manner annihilated equally honesty and dishonesty, by removing from his fellow countrymen both want and riches. But education was to make the Spartan boys in the highest possible degree bold, vigilant, skilful, and obedient soldiers; with a strong point of honor resting immediately on the desire of applause and fear of shame to themselves, but ever ultimately guided by the love of their country. With this principle and these views, the legislator directed that they should wear but one garment, which should serve equally in winter and summer; that they should sleep on no better bed than rushes, which themselves should gather. The same plain food he allowed to them as to the men; but in very scanty proportion, unless they could steal it. If they could rob a garden, or the messrooms, kitchens, or larders of the men, undiscovered, they were allowed to enjoy the fruit of their boldness and skill; but if detected in the attempt, they were punished severely, not for theft, but for awkwardness and unguardedness. The commonwealth, said the legislator, allows sustenance to you as to the men; but it requires many duties of you. Food shall be given you, sufficient for your support; but would you indulge in what more the

Xenoph.
Lac. resp.
& Anab.
l. 4. c. 6.
s. 11. 12.
Plut. vit.
Lyc. & Lac.
ἐπιτηδ.

appetite may crave, you must earn it. Whatever you can acquire by improving, through exercise in peace, that boldness, dexterity, and vigilance which hereafter may be useful to the commonwealth in war, is yours: the commonwealth gives it you. This certainly was understood; and it seems unquestionably to follow, that such acquisition of property, among the Spartan boys, had nothing of the immoral and disgraceful nature of theft in other countries.

SECT.
III.

Education among the Spartans could scarcely be said to end. When boys approached manhood, their discipline increased in strictness. To check, says Xenophon, the boiling passions of that critical period Xen. Lac. resp. of life, the legislator augmented their stated labors, and abridged their leisure. Nor was there any remission but on military service: there many indulgences were allowed; insomuch that the camp was to the Lacedæmonians the scene of ease and luxury; the city that of labor, study, spare diet, and a discipline severe in the extreme. To engage in earnest Plat. de Leg. 1. 1. p. 633. t. 2. conflict with blows among one another; to stand while stripes were rigorously inflicted, and bear them without any external sign of a sense of pain; to support heat almost to suffocation, and to endure cold, travelling over the country in midwinter, barefoot, and sleeping in the air; were among their regular exercises, from which none were excused. Even cleanliness of person, or at least any particular attention to it, was discouraged in the city; but in the camp, not only neatness was required, but even ornament in dress was approved.

Before the age of thirty none were allowed to interfere in public affairs of any kind; and even after that age it was not reputable for a man to addict himself to either political or judicial business. But

CHAP. attendance upon the schools was every man's concern.
IV. Every man also gave a portion of his time to military and athletic exercises; and, as an amusement, hunting was greatly encouraged. Poetry, successfully used in promoting the scheme of reformation, found favor in the established system. Music followed of course. Together they made a necessary part of the ceremony and of the amusement of religious festivals, which were frequent at Sparta, as in every other Grecian city. But all kinds of poetry and music were not allowed: the style of both was strictly under the restraint of the magistrate. Their hours of leisure from these avocations the Lacedæmonians mostly spent in assemblies for the purpose of conversation, which they called, by a name peculiar to themselves, Lesche; and to these much of their time was given. Of private business a Spartan could have but little. It was highly disreputable for his family to engross his attention; and private study was scarcely less reprobated. For Lycurgus, as Plutarch has remarked, would have his fellow-countrymen neither desire nor even know how to live by themselves, or for themselves.

Polyb. 1. 6. p. 491. It is the observation of that experienced and able politician Polybius, who saw the constitution of Sparta expiring after a longer existence than any other commonwealth had then been known to maintain, that for the purposes of preserving civil freedom and political concord within the state, and of securing it against all violence from without, the institutions of Lycurgus seemed to have been conceived with more than human wisdom. Yet what to modern eyes most strikingly sets that extraordinary man above all other legislators is, that in so many circumstances apparently out of the reach of law he

controlled and formed to his own mind the wills and habits of his people. Thus he prescribed sobriety; and the Lacedæmonians were sober. Probably all legislators would prescribe sobriety, if they could hope to make the law effectual. But Lycurgus prescribed mirth to his people; and they were merry: he prescribed even a particular kind of mirth: the English proverb, *Be merry and wise*, was his rule; and the Spartans were ever famous for mirth guided by wisdom. He prescribed a peculiar style of conversation; and while Sparta existed, his people were remarkable for that style which even now is distinguished throughout Europe by the name of Laconic. He prescribed respect for age. This is a law of nature; but no legislator ever succeeded like Xen. Mem. Socr. 1. 3. c. 5. s. 15. & 1. 4. c. 4. s. 15. Lycurgus in making a whole people, through many generations, uniformly obedient to it. In other governments valuable institutions often have resulted from fortuitous concurrences or trains of circumstances; but in Lacedæmon all was directed by the comprehensive mind of the legislator, and the process remains marked by which he produced some of his most singular effects. With regard to mirth and the style of conversation, for instance, he commanded that during meals questions should be put to the boys, to which ready but short answers were required. This with business was also amusement for those of advanced years; and, in the scarcity of both allowed to the Spartans, was not likely to be neglected. Attention therefore being given by those who superintended education, among whom were all the first characters of the state, both to the matter and manner of the answers, informing, correcting, applauding, as they found occasion; quickness and propriety in reply, together with a manner of speaking at once

CHAP. IV. graceful, respectful, and determined, became habitual among the Lacedæmonians. It may appear at first view extraordinary that, prescribing modesty to the Spartan youth, he should really make them modest. But this too was a regular consequence of his institutions. In other states birth and possessions giving rank and authority, the young and the profligate are continually seen superior to the old and the worthy: age can never there find its due respect. But in Lacedæmon eminence and power were the meed of age and merit alone. That strict obedience therefore which was required of the young, that constantly watchful eye which was kept over them by the aged, not by a few appointed for the purpose, but by all the elder persons of the commonwealth, together with the placing of all legal authority exclusively in the hands of the old; these circumstances united naturally and necessarily produced that modesty in youth, and that reverence for age, for which Lacedæmon became famous. In other cities, says Xenophon, those of nearly the same age associate mostly together; and in presence of equals respect and circumspection least prevail; but in Sparta the laws of Lycurgus require that the young and the old should never be separated. Hence followed, what the same experienced observer of mankind farther remarks, that whereas in other states the great esteem it a degradation to be thought under the restraint of legal power, in Sparta, on the contrary, the greatest make it their pride to set the example of humility, of respect for the magistrates, and of zealous obedience to the laws.

It has been a fancy of some modern authors, that the institutions of Lycurgus were but the revived usages of the heroic ages; and of others, that they

Xenoph. de
Rep. Lac.

were those of the rude Dorian highlanders, improved and systematized. All antiquity contradicts both opinions, and particularly the writers of highest authority.¹⁸ Xenophon not only refers every thing expressly to the legislator, but affirms that Lycurgus established his plan of government upon principles diametrically opposite to those of all other Grecian states, without any exception for the Dorians, either in their new or their old establishments: and Thucydides, and Isocrates, and Plato, and still more Polybius, speak strongly to the same purpose. On the other hand again it is urged, that to change at once the manners and ancient usages of a people by any effort of legislation is impossible. In a great nation we may grant it so; but in a small commonwealth not: and certainly so the ancient lawgivers thought. We find it universally their great object to legislate for the manners;¹⁹ and hence all the political theories of the Greek philosophers are calculated for limited and narrow societies. Lycurgus, having had this principle, almost alone, in common with all other Grecian legislators, thought it necessary, for the preservation of his system, to prevent any extensive communication of his people with those of other, even Grecian states. He therefore forbade foreign travel; and allowed the resort of strangers to Sparta but under strict limitations. Foreign commerce he nearly annihilated, as we have already seen, without an express law for the purpose.

SECT.
III.

Xenoph.
de Rep.
Lac. &
Mem. Soc.
l. 4. c. 4.
s. 13.

Thucyd.
l. 1. c. 18.
& 77.
Isocr. Pana-
then. p. 530.
& 546.
Plat. de
Leg.
l. 3. p. 635.
Polyb. l. 6.

¹⁸ Not only Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Plato, Aristotle, and Polybius, were evidently without such an idea; but the discovery appears not to have been made so late as Plutarch's time.

¹⁹ Οὐ γὰρ ψηφίσμασιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἥθεσι, καλῶς οἰκεῖσθαι τὰς πάλεις. Isoc. de Pace.

CHAP.
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We are not with any certainty informed how far the treatment of slaves among the Lacedæmonians, such as we afterward find it, was prescribed by Lycurgus; but slavery, indispensable in every Grecian republic, was eminently so in that of Lycurgus. In different states however the condition of slaves varied; and the most remarkable difference, and the most important, and yet the least noticed among ancient and modern writers, was, that in some of them the slaves were purchased barbarians, in some they were mostly the descendants of subdued Greeks. All the Lacedæmonian slaves, or almost all, appear to have been of the latter kind. There are different accounts of the origin of those miserable men, who were distinguished from other slaves by name as by condition. The most received is, that Helos, whether an Arcadian town or a rebellious dependence of Lacedæmon is not agreed, being taken by Sous, son of Procles, the inhabitants were, according to the practice of the times, reduced to slavery; and were dispersed in such numbers over Laconia that the name of Helot prevailed in that country as synonymous with slave. It appears however probable that the Lacedæmonians, as perhaps all the Peloponnesian Dorians, had slaves of Grecian race before the reign of Sous: and we know that after it they reduced numbers of Greeks to that miserable state. But the institutions of Lycurgus must necessarily have occasioned a considerable alteration in the condition of the Lacedæmonian slaves. For as husbandry and all mechanical arts were to be exercised by them alone, their consequence in the state was considerably increased: but as private property was nearly annihilated, every slave became in a great degree the slave of every freeman. In proportion then as their importance increased, it

Thucyd.
Isocr.
Panath.
p. 540. t. 2.
Strabo,
Pausan.
Plut.Aristot.
Pelit.
I. 2. c. 5.

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became necessary to look upon them with a more jealous eye; and thus every Helot was watched by thousands of jealous masters. Therefore, though it were unjust to impute either to the command or to the intention of Lycurgus that cruelty in the masters, or that misery of the slaves, which we find to have been afterward really established by law, it is however impossible to exculpate his institutions from them. Never was human nature degraded by system to such a degree as in the miserable Helots. Every imaginable method was taken to set them at the widest distance from their haughty masters. Even vice was commanded to them: they were compelled to drunkenness, for the purpose of exhibiting to the young Lacedæmonians the ridiculous and contemptible condition to which men are reduced by it. They were forbidden every thing manly; and they were commanded every thing humiliating, of which man is capable, while beasts are not. A cruel jealousy became indispensable in watching a body of men far superior in number to all the other subjects of the state, and treated in a manner so singularly provoking indignation and resentment. Hence that abominable institution the Cryptia. The most active and intelligent young Lacedæmonians were occasionally sent into the country, carrying provisions, and armed with a dagger. They dispersed, and generally lay concealed during the day, that they might with more advantage in the night execute their commission for reducing the number of the Helots, by murdering any they met, but selecting in preference the stoutest men, and those in whom any superiority of spirit or genius had been observed. Notwithstanding however these inhuman and disgraceful precautions, La-

Plut. vi.
Lycurg.

CHAP. cedæmon was oftener in danger of utter subversion
IV. from its slaves than from foreign enemies.

Herodot.
l. 1. c. 65.
Plut. vit.
Lycurg.
Xenoph. de
Rep. Lac.

Herodotus, as well as Plutarch, attributes to Lycurgus the honor of the MILITARY code of Sparta equally as of the civil; and the higher authority of Xenophon goes far to confirm their testimony. If the Spartan military was really put by the great legislator upon the footing which the soldier-philosopher describes, the improvement since Homer's age was indeed extraordinary. Probably however improvement did not cease with Lycurgus, but was continued as experience gave occasion, in the course of warfare little intermitted through successive centuries. But that fundamental law, which bade the Lacedæmonians place their security in their discipline and their courage, and not in fortifications, breathes the very spirit of Lycurgus. Lacedæmon accordingly was never fortified. The kings were commanders in chief of the forces; and their authority, as the nature of military command requires, was much greater in the army than in the state, in war than in peace, abroad than at home.²⁰ They were however still amenable to the civil power for any undue exercise of that necessary, but dangerous extent of supremacy.

Two accounts of the composition of the Lacedæmonian Army remain from authors living when Sparta was in its highest glory, military men, of great abilities, and possessing means of information such as few, not themselves Lacedæmonians, could obtain. In general they agree: but on some essential points they differ in a manner not to be accounted for but by the sup-

²⁰ Λακεδαιμονίους, τοὺς ἄριστα τῶν Ἑλλήνων πολιτευομένους, οἵκοι μὲν ὀλιγοφρούμενοι, παρὰ δὲ τὸν πόλεμον βασιλευομένους. Isocr. Nicocl. p. 118. t. 1.

position of some error in the transcription of their works. According to Xenophon, the legislator distributed the Lacedæmonian forces into six divisions of foot, and as many of horse; each of these divisions in either service having the title of Mora. The officers of each mora of infantry, he says, were one Polemarch, four Lochages, eight Pentecosters, and sixteen Enomotarchs: the number of soldiers he leaves unmentioned. Thucydides, without noticing the mora, describes the Lacedæmonian infantry thus:

Xenoph. de Rep. Lac.

Thucyd.
l. 5. c. 66.
& 68.

' Each Lochus consisted of four Pentecostyes, and ' each pentecostys of four Enomoties; four men ' fought in the front of each enomoty: the depth of ' the files was varied according to circumstances, at ' the discretion of the lochage; but the ordinary ' depth was eight men.' Thus the enomoty would consist of thirty-two men, the pentecostys of a hundred and twenty-eight, the lochus of five hundred and twelve, and a mora composed of four lochi would be two thousand and forty-eight. But if the enomoty was of thirty-two men, the pentecostys, according to Xenophon, would be but sixty-four, the lochus a hundred and twenty-eight, the mora only five hundred and twelve, and the whole Lacedæmonian infantry three thousand and seventy-two.²¹ If Plutarch however may be trusted, the division of lands in Laconia only, before the acquisition of Messenia, provided for thirty-nine thousand families; and a writer of much higher authority, after the loss of Messenia again, speaks of Laconia as having the most numerous free population of any province of Peloponnesus, unless it might be equalled by Arcadia. But the Lacedæmonians were not generally

Plut. v.
Lycurg.

Polyb.
l. 2. p. 125.

²¹ Diodorus says the mora, in his orthography, *μοῖρα*, was of five hundred men, l. 15. c. 32. But his authority is little.

CHAP. IV. admitted to the honor of going upon service beyond the bounds of Laconia till after the age of thirty: yet as the proportion of cavalry was very small, and every Lacedæmonian was a soldier, we cannot reckon the infantry much fewer than forty thousand. In the Persian war we shall find ten thousand employed in one army beyond Peloponnesus; when a considerable force besides was on distant service with the fleet, and while an enemy within Peloponnesus would make a powerful defence necessary at home. Thus it appears hardly doubtful that there must be some mistake in the copies of Xenophon. I have thought it nevertheless proper to be so particular in a detail which cannot completely satisfy; not only because of the well-earned fame of the Spartan military, but also because of the high character of the authors of these differing accounts, and farther because the impossibility to reconcile them will at least apologize for deficiencies which may appear hereafter in relating operations of the Lacedæmonian forces. For the military reader will have observed that the difference is not merely in names and numbers, but materially regards the composition of the Lacedæmonian armies. This, according to Thucydides, was formed with the utmost simplicity, from the file of eight men, by an arithmetical progression of fours; and probably for some purposes the file itself was divided into four quarter files. Four files then made the enomoty, four enomoties the pentecostys, four pentecostyes the lochus, and, according to Xenophon, four lochi the mora, which was thus analogous to the modern brigade of four battalions. Xenophon farther informs us that the mora was the proper command of the polemarch, and from both writers it appears that the polemarchs were general officers, subordinate only

to the kings or commanders-in-chief. Upon the whole there seems no reason to doubt the exactness of the account remaining from Thucydides. He makes no mention of the mora; the six divisions of which name comprehended, according to Xenophon, the whole Lacedæmonian people, perhaps all between the ages of twenty and sixty. The strength of the mora therefore would vary as the population varied. Moreover it was usual, according to the importance of the occasion, to require the service of all within the military age, or of those only within a more limited age, as between thirty and forty. Upon the whole then it appears probable that the strength of the mora was indefinite :²² and it is possible that the smaller bodies may have varied, and yet the principle of formation by fours, indicated by Thucydides, may have been generally maintained.

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²² Thucydides's account of the communication of orders through the Lacedæmonian armies agrees better with his own account of their composition than what remains as Xenophon's. Yet the investigators of Greek antiquities have very generally inclined to the latter: apparently for no reason but because they would have the command of the pentecoster, penteconter, or pentecontater (for thus variously the title is written) exactly correspond to the original meaning of his name; and on this shadow of a foundation they assert that the enomoty, including its commander, was of only twenty-five men, though it is so clearly indicated by Thucydides that its average complement was thirty-two. Xenophon, in a passage not altogether so clear, having possibly been injured in transcription, seems however decidedly enough to speak of the enomoty, on one great occasion, as of thirty-six men. Nothing, we well know, is more common than for names to remain when things are altered; if hereafter the meaning of the modern words Colonel and Constable should be sought in their derivation, what strange error would result! The Pentacontarchia of Arrian's time was a command not of fifty, as the name seems to import, but of sixty-four men, and the Hecatontarchia of a hundred and twenty-eight. Arrian. Tact. p. 39. ed. Amstel. & Lips. 1750.

Xen. Hel.
l. 6. c. 4.
s. 12.

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IV.

Subordination, in the Lacedæmonian discipline, as Thucydides in pointed terms remarks, was simple in principle, but multiplied in degrees, so that responsibility for due execution of orders was widely extended ; the proportion of those who had no command being comparatively very small.²³ Upon the whole indeed there appears great analogy between the composition of the Lacedæmonian army and that of the modern European, particularly the English, whether we take the lochus of Thucydides, or the mora of Xenophon, as a battalion. The resemblance in the formation was closer till of late years, when the deep files of the old discipline have been totally rejected. Like the company, or subdivision of our battalions, the enomoty appears also to have been the Principle of Motion in the Lacedæmonian forces. Whatever change was to be made in the extent of the line, in the depth of the files, or in the position of the front, the evolution seems to have been performed within each enomoty by itself; the just reference of these primary constituent bodies to one another, and to the whole, being a second business. Farther than this, for want of accurate knowledge of the technical phrases, it is hazardous to attempt explanation of those evolutions of the Lacedæmonian troops which Xenophon has even minutely described, and concerning which his applause highly excites curiosity. Some other circumstances however he has related in terms sufficiently clear. Lycurgus, he says, on account of the weakness of angles, directed the circular form for encampment ; unless where a mountain, a river, or some other accident of the ground

²³ Σχεδὸν γάρ τοι πᾶν, πλὴν ὀλίγου, τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἄρχοντες ἀρχόντων εἰσὶ, καὶ τὸ ἐπιμελὲς τοῦ δρωμένου πολλοῖς προσήκει. Thucyd. I. 5. c. 66.

afforded security. A camp-guard was mounted daily, precisely, it should seem, analogous to the modern quarter-guard and rear-guard, to keep order within the camp. A different guard for the same purpose was mounted by night. For security against the enemy, out-sentries and videttes were posted. An advanced guard of horse always preceded the march of the army. Xenophon has thought it worth while particularly to mention that the Lacedæmonians wore a scarlet uniform; and the origin of this he refers to Lycurgus. The Lacedæmonian troops were always singularly well provided with all kinds of useful baggage and camp-necessaries; and a large proportion of Helot servants, laborers and artificers, attended with waggons and beasts of burthen. It appears indeed to have been a principle of the Lacedæmonian service that the soldier should be as much as possible at ease when off duty, and should have no business but that of arms.

Other states which have flourished by the wisdom of their laws, and the goodness of their constitution, have risen by slow degrees to that excellence which has led them to power and celebrity; and fortunate circumstances have often done more for them than their wisest legislators, who have indeed seldom dared to attempt all that themselves thought best. But for Lycurgus nothing was too difficult, nothing too dangerous: he changed every thing at once; new-modelled government, manners, morals, in a manner new-made the people: and yet with all these violent alterations, those experiments in politics hazardous to such extreme, no one consequence seems to have escaped his penetrating genius; no one of his daring ideas failed in practice; he foresaw, and he provided for everything. There was a disease inherent in the

CHAP. vitals of his system, which yet must not be imputed
IV. to him as a fault ; since human nature seems in few situations to admit either remedy or preventive that may not prove worse than the disease : palliatives alone can safely be attempted. For the military turn which Lycurgus so much encouraged in his fellow-countrymen, and the perfection of discipline which he established among them, were necessary not only to that respectable independency which he wished them to enjoy, but even to the security of their existence as a people. He was however not unaware that thirst of conquest, and ambition to command, must unavoidably spring up and flourish in a soil so prepared. Two prohibitions, which had other more obvious purposes, appear at the same time to have been intended indirectly to obviate the mischiefs that might be apprehended from these passions: he forbade the Lacedæmonians to engage in frequent wars with the same people ; and he forbade them, from the moment when victory was decisively theirs, to pursue a flying enemy. Each of these prohibitions tended strongly to prevent the complete conquest of any foreign territory: at the same time that the first had for its more obvious purpose the prevention of foreigners from acquiring the Spartan discipline ; and the other, beside securing against the misfortunes incident to rash pursuit, as it lessened to opposing armies the danger of flight, was likely to make victory often cheaper to the Lacedæmonians than it would be, in parallel circumstances, to any other people. Beside these, some institutions, perhaps already venerable for their antiquity, being favorable to his views, would receive the sanction of his approbation. It was a sacred law at Sparta that

could quit Laconia ; and, on whatever foreign service, it must return for the observance of two religious festivals, both within the ordinary season of military operations ; the Hyacinthia at the beginning, and the Carnia toward the end of summer. These then, with the exclusion of wealth, were the curbs to which Lycurgus trusted for restraining that ambition which he could not but foresee must arise among his fellow-countrymen. Those other defects of the Spartan constitution, of which we are informed by the comments of two great philosophers and politicians who saw it in decay, whether originally in Lycurgus's establishment, or whether of after-growth, will rather be objects for future consideration.

Thucyd.
Xen. Hel.

Plat. de
Rep.
I. 8. p. 547.
Aristot.
Polit.

Lycurgus then having with invincible courage and unwearied perseverance, and with penetration and judgment still more singular, executed the most extraordinary plan ever even devised by man,²⁴ waiting awhile to see his machine in motion, and having the satisfaction to find every part adapted, and the whole move as he wished, his next and last concern was to secure its duration. Summoning an assembly of the people, he observed upon what had been done, ‘ That ‘ it proved upon experience good; and would, he ‘ hoped, go far toward assuring virtue, and of course ‘ happiness, to his fellowcountrymen. He had yet ‘ one thing to propose, which however he would not ‘ venture upon till he had consulted the god; for ‘ which purpose he would go himself to Delphi: but ‘ he must have assurance that nothing should be

²⁴ It is a remark of John James Rousseau, that the many plans of government proposed by speculative men, however excellent in theory, are generally slighted as mere visions, impossible to be reduced to practice: but, says the philosopher very justly, had Lycurgus been a legislator in speculation only, his scheme would have appeared much more visionary than Plato's.

CHAP. IV. ‘altered before his return.’ Immediately kings, senate, and people unanimously desired him to go, and readily engaged, by a solemn oath, that till he returned nothing should be altered. His reception at Delphi was as favorable as before. The oracle declared, ‘That the constitution of Sparta, as it now stood, was excellent; and as long as it remained entire, would ensure happiness and glory to the state.’ Lycurgus sent this response to Sparta, determined himself never to return. He had now completed what he esteemed sufficient for his life: his death was wanting to bind his fellowcountrymen indissolubly to the observance of his institutions, and a statesman ought, if possible, he thought, to make even his death beneficial to his country. Conformably to this doctrine, which was not only not alien from the spirit of the age, but consonant to the stoic philosophy of aftertimes, he is said to have died by voluntary abstinence from nourishment. Different accounts are however given both of the place and manner of his death. One tradition says that he lived to a good old age in Crete: and dying naturally, his body was burnt according to the practice of the age, and the relics, pursuant to his own request, scattered in the sea, lest, if his bones or ashes had ever been carried to Sparta, the Lacedæmonians might have thought themselves freed from their obligation by oath to observe his laws.

Justin.
I. 3. c. 2.

SECTION IV.

History of Messenia from the return of the Heraclidæ, and of Lacedæmon from the legislation of Lycurgus, to the completion of the conquest of Messenia by the Lacedæmonians.

It was not long after the full establishment of Lycurgus’s institutions that the increase of vigor to the

Lacedæmonian state, for external exertion, became SECT.
IV. as apparent as the internal change from boundless disorder to unexampled regularity. The Spartans exulted in their new-felt strength: the desire to exercise it grew irresistible; and they became early marked by their neighbours as a formidable people. Wars arose with all the bordering states; but those Herodot.
l. 1. c. 66. with Messenia, for the importance of their consequences, will principally demand attention.

MESSENIA, as we have already observed, was the least mountainous, and the most generally fruitful province of Peloponnesus; but it seems never to have been blest with a government capable of securing to its inhabitants the advantages which the soil and climate offered. Cresphontes the Heraclidean, we Pausan.
l. 4. c. 3.
Isocrat.
Archid. are told, endeavouring to support himself by the favor of the lower people against the arrogance of the leading men, an insurrection ensued, in which he was cut off with the greater part of his family; according to some accounts only one son, Ægyptus, escaping the massacre. This prince, however, ascended the throne; and so far acquired celebrity, that from his name the Messenian royal race was distinguished as the Æpytidian branch of the Heraclidean family. But the Messenian history affords little interesting before the wars with Lacedæmon, which with their consequences form indeed almost the whole of it. Concerning those wars hardly anything remains from the older Grecian writers. Herodotus, without giving us to know why, avoids all account of them; though Herodot.
l. 1. c. 66.
& seq. he mentions the most important result, the conquest of Messenia by the Lacedæmonians. In a very late age Pausanias endeavoured to supply the deficiency; Pausan. l. 4.
c. 6. & al. and he appears to have taken great pains, by collating poems, and traditions preserved by prose writers, with

CHAP. ancient genealogies and temple records, to ascertain
IV. the principal circumstances of Messenian history. In many points he is confirmed by scattered passages of authors of high authority; and the consequences were so remarkable and so important, and remain so unquestionably ascertained, that Pausanias's account of the wars themselves may require some scope in a general history of Greece.

The assigned causes of the fatal quarrel are objects of notice, as they tend to mark the manners of the age. However the Greeks were politically divided, they always maintained a community in the concerns of religion. Some religious rites indeed were held peculiar to particular cities, and some even to particular families; but some were common to all of the same horde, Dorian, Ionian, Æolian, and some to the whole nation. There was at Limnæ, on the frontier of Messenia against Laconia, a temple dedicated to Diana, where Messenians and Lacedæmonians, both being of Dorian origin, equally resorted to sacrifice, and to partake of those periodical festivities which were usual at the more celebrated Grecian temples. In a tumult at one of those festivals Teleclus king of Sparta, son of Archelaus the contemporary of Lycurgus, was killed. The Lacedæmonians were loud in complaint that the Messenians had attempted to carry off some Spartan virgins, and that Teleclus received his death in defending them. The Messenians averred that the treachery was on the part of the Lacedæmonians; that the pretended virgins were armed youths, disguised with a purpose to assassinate the Messenian chiefs who attended the solemnity; and that Teleclus and his followers met a just fate in attempting to execute their execrable intention. On whichever side the truth lay, the

Pausan.
l. 4. c. 4.

Pausan.
ut sup.
Strabo,
l. 8. p. 362.

Lacedæmonians checked their resentment, till, in the reigns of Alcamenes son of Teleclus and Theopompus grandson of Charilaus (the genealogies of the Spartan kings alone furnish any authority for dates of these wars²⁵) other causes of quarrel arose. Polychares, a Messenian of rank, put out by agreement some cattle, in which still consisted the principal riches of the times, under the care of herdsmen his own slaves, to pasture on the lands of Euæphnus, a Lacedæmonian; who sold both cattle and herdsmen, and pretended to Polychares that they had been carried off by pirates. The fraud was however discovered by one of the slaves, who, escaping from his purchaser, returned to his former master. Euæphnus, thus detected, promised an equivalent; but the son of Polychares, being sent to receive it, was assassinated. The father, full of grief and indignation, went himself to Sparta, and laid his complaint before kings and people. Finding no disposition to grant him any redress, he returned enraged into his own country, and retaliated by frequent assassination of the Lacedæmonian bor-

²⁵ Pausanias indeed says that Polychares, who immediately brought on the Messenian war, was victor in the fourth Olympiad. Pausan. l. 4. c. 4. We may believe that the name of the victor in the fourth Olympiad was Polychares, and yet perhaps reasonably doubt if he was the person who caused the Messenian war, which, according to Newton's Chronology, must have begun near a century later, about the twenty-fourth or twenty-fifth Olympiad. Numbers are very liable to suffer in transcription; and evident errors in the statement of numbers occur in our copies of Pausanias. The great earthquake of Sparta is there said to have happened in the age of Cimon, and in the twenty-ninth Olympiad. We know from Thucydides that it did happen in the age of Cimon, and we may therefore believe that Diodorus and the chronologers, though they disagree, do not err by many years when they assign it to either the fourth year of the 77th, or the fourth year of the 78th Olympiad.

CHAP. IV. derers. These violences brought a deputation from Sparta to the Messenian state, to demand reparation. Two kings then reigned in Messenia. Of these, Androcles was inclined to surrender Polychares rather than risk a war with Lacedæmon. But Antiochus opposed a measure which he affirmed to be equally mean and unjust; and, such was the imperfect and unsettled state of the Messenian government, recourse was had to arms for deciding the dispute. Androcles and his principal partizans were killed, and Antiochus thus became sole king of Messenia.

The Lacedæmonians highly exasperated, and now without any view of peaceful redress, are said to have taken a measure which, however impossible to have happened in such large kingdoms as have led the affairs of modern Europe, is not incredible of their age and circumstances, in character similar to those of Ireland before Cromwell's conquest of the country, and of Scotland so late as the first half of the last

Polyb. 1. 6. Without any of those formal declarations
p. 492. by heralds which the law of nations even then among
Strabo. 1. 6. the Greeks required, as the forerunners of honorable
p. 279. war, they prepared secretly for hostilities: and, so ex-
Pausan. treme was the animosity against the Messenians which
1. 4. c. 5. then pervaded their little state, an oath was uni-
Justin. 1. 3. versally taken, that no length of time should weary
c. 4. them, no magnitude of misfortune should deter them, but they would prosecute the war, and, it is added by some writers, would on no account return to their families, till they had subdued Messenia. This violent
Pausan. resolution thus solemnly taken, Amphea, a small
ut sup. town advantageously situated for covering the fron-
Ol. 32. 1. tier, became their first object. A body of troops led
B. C. by their king Alcamenes entered it by night; the
652. N. gates being open and no guard kept, as no hostilities
Ol. 9. 2.
B. C.
743. B.

were apprehended. The place was taken with scarcely any resistance; and in the spirit of revenge which animated the assailants, only a few of the inhabitants escaping by flight, the rest were put to the sword.

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Antiochus dying, after having enjoyed but for a few months the monarchy of Messenia, was succeeded by his son Euphaes. This prince prepared wisely to resist the storm which was bursting on his country. While he avoided battles with the Lacedæmonians, whose art of war and practised discipline gave them a decided superiority in the field, he provided so effectually for the defence of the Messenian towns that every attempt of the enemy proved unsuccessful against them. Thus secure at home, he took opportunities occasionally to embark some chosen troops, and revenged the pillage committed in Messenia by similar depredations on the coast of Laconia. It was not till the fourth year of the war that he thought his people practised enough in arms to meet the Lacedæmonians in the field; and even then, resolved to put nothing to hazard, his aim was less to push for decisive victory than to let it appear that, while watching opportunities, he could face the enemy without disadvantage. In the following year however the two armies came to a general engagement, and with a fury of which polished times, being without equal incentives, furnish no example. ‘ Recollect,’ said Euphaes speaking to his troops on the point of engaging, ‘ it is not for your lands only, your goods, ‘ your wealth, that you are going to fight: but you ‘ well know what will be your fate if vanquished: ‘ your wives and children will be slaves; and, for ‘ yourselves, death will be your fairest lot, if it comes ‘ without ignominy or torture. Amphea may tell you ‘ this.’ Night however stopped the battle; and next

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morning each army found itself so weakened by the numbers slain that both shunned a renewal of the engagement.

Pausan.
I. 4. c. 9.

But though the trial of arms was thus equally maintained by the Messenians, yet their affairs were in other points declining greatly. The open country had been so long the spoil of the enemy that the means of supporting themselves within their garrisons began to fail; their slaves deserted; and disease, the common consequence, especially in hot climates, of crowding together in towns persons accustomed to breathe the free air and eat the fresh food of the fields, made havoc among them. New measures became necessary: they drew their people from all their inland posts to Ithome, a strong situation near the coast, which they preferred because, the Lacedæmonians having no naval force, it would always be open to supplies by sea. Enlarging this place sufficiently to receive its new inhabitants, they added to its extraordinary natural strength every thing of which their skill in fortification was capable. While these works were going forward, their doubts and fears directed them to ask advice of the Delphian oracle, the common resource of desponding states, how the blessing of the gods might be obtained on their endeavours. The answer might perhaps justify a suspicion that the Delphian priests were corrupted by the Lacedæmonians; for it was perfectly adapted to produce discord and confusion in Messenia. The Pythoness declared, that a virgin of the blood of Ægyptus must be sacrificed to the infernal deities. The consequences were no other than might be expected from an absurd and cruel superstition. The lot fell upon the daughter of Lyciscus. But a priest, gained by the father, declared that the daughter was

supposititious, and therefore not known to be of the blood required by the gods. Lyciscus however, still fearing for his child, took the opportunity afforded by the doubts and confusion which the priest's declaration had occasioned, to desert with her to Sparta. Double confusion, doubt, and despondency now took possession of the Messenian council: when Aristodemus, a man in whom superstition, or ambition, or perhaps both together, had stifled paternal tenderness, offered his own daughter for the victim. But here other obstacles occurred. The virgin was betrothed to a young Messenian of highest rank and estimation; who, shocked with the suddenness of the father's dreadful purpose, insisted vehemently that his daughter was not at his disposal, but belonged to him to whom she was betrothed. This however not availing, the young man, agonizing with the thought of thus tragically losing his beloved bride, averred that the daughter of Aristodemus could not satisfy the requisition of the gods; for she was no virgin, being already with child by him. Insult thus added to opposition enraged Aristodemus to madness: he slew his daughter with his own hand; and, to vindicate the honor of his family by demonstration of the falsehood of the lover's assertion, caused the body to be dissected. The priests now demanded another virgin, the deceased not having been regularly sacrificed. But the wiser Euphaes, finding himself strongly supported by the Ægyptian families, who were numerous and powerful, persuaded the people that the command of the oracle was sufficiently performed, and no more blood required by the gods.

The horrid deed of Aristodemus is said so far to have served his country that the fame of the oracle, and of the obedience paid to it, threw some diffidence

CHAP. IV. into the minds of the Lacedæmonians; insomuch that for five years the war was almost intermitted. But in the sixth another great effort was made. The king of Lacedæmon, Theopompus, led an army toward Ithome; and Euphaes now trusting in the practised valor of his people, or perhaps still more dreading the consequences of confining them in garrison, marched to meet him. A battle was again fought, in which, as in the former, great slaughter was made on both sides without any decisive advantage to either; only that the brave and worthy Euphaes, anxious by his example to lead his people to victory, received a mortal wound. The ambition of Aristodemus now was gratified: Euphaes leaving no issue, he was raised to the throne by the voice of the people, in preference to all others of Ægyptian race.

The known bravery and activity of this prince were such that the Lacedæmonians derived little encouragement from the death of Euphaes; and their loss in the late battle was so great that again for four years the operations of the war were confined to mere predatory incursions. This time was judiciously employed by the new Messenian king in strengthening his alliance with the Argives, Arcadians, and Sicyonians; insomuch that, when in the fifth year of his reign the Lacedæmonians marched all their forces against Ithome, he received powerful assistance from those states. A battle was fought, in which the abilities of Aristodemus as commander-in-chief were not less conspicuous than his bravery had been when an inferior officer. The Lacedæmonian armies excelled in heavy-armed foot. The Messenians were superior in light troops, who used chiefly missile weapons. By a judicious disposition of these, supported by the de-

terminated bravery of his heavy phalanx, Aristodemus, after repeated and well varied efforts, succeeded in breaking the Spartan order of battle. Great numbers fell both in the field and in the retreat. But, though victory was fairly on the side of the Messenians, yet the excellence of the Spartan discipline prevented a total rout. The Lacedæmonian chiefs however led the scattered remains of their army immediately into Laconia.

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Now the Lacedæmonians in their turn sent to Delphi to ask advice of the god. The Messenians, still more interested in the event, again did the same. Unintelligible responses were absurdly interpreted; and for some time there was an emulation between the two people in superstition rather than in arms. Remorse for his daughter's death meantime took possession of Aristodemus. We are uninformed of any considerable subsequent misfortune, public or private, that had befallen him, when he is said to have killed himself on her tomb. The account of the preceding circumstances may perhaps appear in some degree romantic; and what remains of those leading to its conclusion is very defective. No information remains of what led immediately to the catastrophe. After Aristodemus no Messenian leader of eminence is mentioned. Spartan discipline and Spartan perseverance therefore at length prevailed. The Mes- OI. 37. 1.
B. C. 632. N.senians in Ithome, pressed with extremity of famine, found opportunity to pass the Lacedæmonian lines, OI. 14. 1.
B. C. 724. B. and fled, as every one formed hopes of safety and subsistence. Some had claims of hospitality at Argos, at Sicyon, and in the Arcadian towns; and to those places accordingly directed their steps upon this melancholy occasion. Those who had been admitted to the mysteries of Ceres, or could trace their pedi-

Pausan.
l. 4. c. 14.

gree to the sacred families of that goddess, found refuge at Eleusis. The miserable remainder, to whom no place of secure retreat occurred, scattered, some to find their former dwellings, others variously about the country, submitting themselves apparently to the enemy's mercy. The Lacedæmonians destroyed Ithome, and proceeded to take possession of the other towns without opposition. They gave to the Asinæans, who had lately been expelled from their towns and lands by the Argives, a tract on the Messenian coast, which to the days of Pausanias was still inhabited by their posterity. The other lands they left to the remaining Messenians; exacting from them, together with an oath of allegiance, half the produce as tribute. Thus was this important territory added to the dominion of Sparta.

Strabo,
l. 8. p. 373.

Pausan.
l. 4. c. 14.

Strab. 1. 6.
p. 378. 379.
Justin.

l. 3. c. 6.

Among the events of this war one is related which bears a strange appearance to modern readers, and yet found credit with eminent ancient writers. Their accounts indeed differ; yet all are so far consonant to one another, to the manners and circumstances of the times, and to other authenticated events, that they can hardly be supposed unfounded. The absence, we are told, of the Lacedæmonians from their homes, in consequence of the rash oath taken at the beginning of the war, was long supported by their wives with Spartan fortitude. But year elapsing after year, and Messenia still unsubdued, the matrons at length sent to the army, representing the unequal terms on which the war was waged. The enemy, they observed, living with their families, new citizens were continually produced, to supply the decay of nature and the ravage of war: but the Spartan women had passed years in widowhood: and should the war continue, however victorious their arms, the state would be as

effectually annihilated as it could be by a conquering enemy; for there would be no rising generation. The complaint was acknowledged to require serious consideration; but remedy appeared difficult without incurring the guilt of perjury, and thus drawing down the vengeance of the gods for that supposed of all crimes the most offensive to them. The difficulty was however not to Lacedæmonians what it would have been to any other people. It was determined that those who had arrived at the age for bearing arms since the commencement of the war, none of whom fortunately had taken the oath, should be sent home to cohabit promiscuously with the marriageable virgins; or, according to some authors, with all the women. The institutions of Lycurgus, effectual to conquer some of the strongest passions of human nature, were yet not equal to the annihilation of all prejudice. When the war at length was happily terminated, and things at Lacedæmon resumed their wonted course, the innocent offspring of these irregular embraces were slighted by the other citizens. Being however not the less high spirited for being less regularly born, some disturbance was apprehended from their uneasiness at the distinctions made to their disadvantage. It was therefore thought prudent to offer them means for establishing themselves without the bounds of Peloponnesus. They readily consented to emigrate: and under the conduct of Phalanthus, one of their own body, they founded the city of Tarentum in Italy.

During near forty years Messenia remained in quiet subjection. Those of its unfortunate people who submitted to the Lacedæmonian terms, choosing the least among evils presenting themselves, rested under their hard lot. But the succeeding generation,

CHAP. IV. unexperienced in the calamities of war, unexperienced in the comparative strength of themselves and their conquerors, yet instigated by a share of that irresistible spirit of independency which at this time so remarkably pervaded Greece, and buoyed up by that hope of fortunate contingencies so natural in adversity to generous minds, could not brook the comparison of their own circumstances with those of all other Greeks. Their subjection was indeed too severe and too humiliating to be by any possibility borne with satisfaction, yet not sufficiently depressing to ensure the continuance of quiet submission. A leader therefore only was wanting of reputation to attract and concentrate the materials of the rising storm; and it would burst with energy. Such a leader appeared in Aristomenes, a youth whose high natural spirit was still elevated by the opinion of his descent from Hercules through a long race of Messenian kings. When therefore others were proposing a revolt, Aristomenes was foremost to act in it. Persons were sent privately to the former allies of the state, the Argives and Arcadians, soliciting assistance. Very favorable promises being received, Aristomenes and his party immediately attacked a body of Lacedæmonians at Deræ. A very obstinate action ensued, which terminated without victory to either party: yet the Messenians were so satisfied with the behaviour of Aristomenes that they would have raised him to the throne. He prudently refused that invidious honor, but accepted the office of commander-in-chief of the forces.

OL. 43. 2.
B. C.
607. N.
OL. 23. 4.
B. C.
685. B.

The first adventure related of this hero, after his elevation, sounds romantic: but the age was romantic: and his situation required no common conduct. His principal friend and constant companion was Theocles,

a man of birth among the Messenians, and esteemed the ablest prophet of his time; a character, in that rude age, apparently indicating that he was a man of more than common understanding, addicted rather to study and contemplation than to active life. Such a man, and the friend of such a man, would be aware of the advantages to be derived from the prevailing popular superstitions. There was at Lacedæmon a temple called the Brazen House, dedicated to Minerva, and held in singular veneration. Aristomenes entered that city alone by night: which was not difficult, as there were neither walls nor watch, and the less dangerous, as no Grecian towns were lighted, and the Lacedæmonian institutions forbade to carry lights. Secure therefore in obscurity, he suspended against the brazen house a shield, with an inscription declaring that Aristomenes from the spoils of Sparta dedicated that shield to the goddess. Nothing the early Greeks dreaded more than that their enemies should win from them the favor of a deity, under whose peculiar protection they imagined their state to have been placed by the piety of their forefathers. The Lacedæmonians were so alarmed that they sent to inquire of the Delphian oracle what should be done. The answer of the Pythoness was well considered for the safety of the oracle's reputation, but embarrassing to the Lacedæmonians: it directed them to take an Athenian for their counsellor. An embassy was accordingly sent to Athens. But here too some embarrassment arose: for the Athenians, far from desirous that the finest province of Peloponnesus should become for ever annexed to the dominion of Sparta, were nevertheless fearful of offending the god who gave the oracle. They took therefore a middle way; and in complying hoped to make their com-

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Plut. Lac.
Inst. init.

CHAP. pliance useless. They sent a man named Tyrtæus,
 IV. who among the lowest of the people had exercised
 the profession of a schoolmaster, supposed of no
 abilities for any purpose of the Lacedæmonians, and
 lame of one leg. There is something in these cir-
 cumstances so little consonant to modern history
 that they are apt at first view to bear an appearance
 both of fable and of insignificance. But they come
 so far authenticated as to require some notice in a
 history of the times. It was partly from the admired
 works of Tyrtæus himself, fragments of which remain,
 that historians afterwards collected their account of
 the Messenian affairs: and it is still common, we
 know, for circumstances, in themselves the most
 trifling, to have consequences highly important.

Lycurg.
con.
Leocr.
p. 211. t. 4.
or. Gr. ed.
Reisk.
Plato de
Leg. 1. 1.
Strabo,
1. 8. p. 362.
Pausan. 1. 4.
Justin.
1. 3. c. 5.

The Messenian army was now reinforced by Ar-
 give, Arcadian, Sicyonian, and Elean auxiliaries;
 and Messenian refugees from various foreign parts
 came in, with eager zeal, to attach themselves once
 more to the fortune of their former country. These
 combined forces met the Lacedæmonian army, which
 had received succour from Corinth only, at Capruse-
 ma. The exertions of Aristomenes, in the battle
 which ensued, are said to have exceeded all belief of
 what one man could do. A complete victory is
 asserted to have been gained by the Messenians,
 with so terrible a slaughter of the Lacedæmonians
 that it was debated at Sparta whether a negotiation
 for peace should not immediately be opened. On
 this occasion great effects are attributed to the poetry
 of Tyrtæus. We know indeed that even in these
 cultivated times, and in the extensive states of modern
 Europe, a popular song can sometimes produce con-
 siderable consequences. Then it was a species of
 oratory suited beyond all other to the genius of the

age. Tyrtæus reanimated the drooping minds of the Spartan people. It was thought expedient to recruit the number of citizens by enfranchising and associating some Helots. The measure was far from popular, but the poetry of Tyrtæus persuaded the people to acquiesce; and it was determined still to prosecute the war with all possible vigor.

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Aristomenes meanwhile was endeavouring to push the advantage he had gained. He did not venture a regular invasion of Laconia, but he carried the war thither by incursion. He surprised the town of Pharæ, bore away a considerable booty, and routed Anaxander king of Sparta, who had proposed to intercept his return. In another irruption he took the town of Caryæ; and, among other plunder, led off a number of Spartan virgins, assembled to celebrate, according to custom, the festival of Diana. Pausanias relates to his honor, on this occasion, a strong instance of the strictness both of his discipline and of his morality. On his appointment to the command-in-chief he had selected a band of young Messenians, mostly of rank, who attended him and fought by his side in all his enterprises. The Spartan virgins, taken at Caryæ, being intrusted to a guard from this body, the young men, heated with wine, attempted to force their chastity. Aristomenes immediately interfered; but, finding it in vain that he represented to them how they dishonored the name of Grecians by attempts so abhorrent from what the laws and customs of their country approved, he laid the most refractory with his own hand dead upon the spot, and then restored the girls to their parents. We have remarked on a former occasion how common rapes were in Greece. Law and order, we may suppose, had made some progress since that

CHAP. IV. period; yet scarcely such as generally to insure the chastity of women captives in war. But where the crime of ravishing is most common, the virtue which prompts to such dangerous exertion, as that related of Aristomenes, for the prevention of it, will be most valued, will consequently become most an object of renown, and thence will more be caught at by aspiring minds.

Among the extraordinary adventures of that hero it is related that, in an attempt upon the town of Ægila, where some Spartan matrons were assembled for the celebration of a festival, they, trained as they were under the institutions of Lycurgus, repelled the attack and made him prisoner. Here the softer passions, it is said, befriended him; Archidamia, priestess of Ceres, becoming enamoured of him, procured his escape.

In the third year of the war the Lacedæmonian and Messenian forces met at Megalaphrus; the latter strengthened by their Arcadian allies only, whose

Pausan. I. 4. leader, Aristocrates prince of Orchomenus, was se-
Strabo,
I. 8. p. 362. cretly in the Lacedæmonian interest. On the first
Polyb. I. 4. onset this traitor gave the signal for his own troops to retreat; and he artfully conducted them so as to disturb the order of the Messenian forces. The Lacedæmonians, prepared for this event, used the opportunity to gain the flank of their enemy. Aristomenes made some vain efforts to prevent a rout: but his army was presently for the most part surrounded and cut to pieces, and he was himself fortunate in making good his retreat with a miserable remnant.

The Messenians had not the resources of an established government. A single defeat induced instant necessity for resorting to the measure practised by

Euphaes in the former war. Abandoning all their inland posts, they collected their force at Ira, a strong situation near the sea, and prepared by all means in their power for vigorous defence. The Lacedæmonians, as was foreseen, presently sat down before the place; but the Messenians were still strong enough to keep a communication open with their ports of Pylus and Methone.²⁶

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The enterprising spirit of Aristomenes was not to be broken by misfortune. Even in the actual calamitous situation of his country's affairs he would not confine himself to defensive war. With his chosen band he sallied from Ira, pillaged all the neighbouring country on the side occupied by the Lacedæmonians, and even ventured into Laconia, where he plundered the town of Amyclæ. His expeditions were so well concerted, and his band so small and so light, that he was generally within the walls of Ira again before it was known in the Spartan camp that any place was attacked. The business of a siege commonly in those times was very slow. The usual hope of the besiegers was to reduce the place by famine. But this was a vain hope to the Lacedæmonians while Aristomenes could thus supply the garrison. The government of Sparta therefore, finding their army ineffectual to prevent this relief, proceeded to the extremity of forbidding, by a public edict, all culture of the conquered part of Messenia. Probably the Lacedæmonian affairs were at this time

²⁶ Pausanias writes this name Mothon, and among the Greeks it so remains to this day; but the Italians, unable to pronounce the Greek Μ, speak and write it Modona: the French for the same reason call it Modon. The Italian name of Pylus is Navarino. This was, according to Strabo, not the residence of Nestor, that city being situated more northward, not far from the river Alpheus.

CHAP. ill administered, both in the army and at home.
IV. Great discontents, we are told, broke out at Sparta: the government is said to have been again beholden to the lame Athenian poet for composing the minds of the people.

But the temper of Aristomenes was too daring, and his enterprises too hazardous, to be long exempt from misfortune. His scene of action was not extensive, so that in time the Lacedæmonians learnt, by their very losses, the means of putting a stop to them. He fell in unexpectedly with a large body of Lacedæmonian troops, headed by both the kings. His retreat was intercepted; and in making an obstinate defence, being stunned by a blow on the head, he was taken prisoner with about fifty of his band.

Pausan. 1. 4. The Lacedæmonians, considering all as rebels, con-
Strabo,
I. 8. p. 367. demned them without distinction to be precipitated into a cavern called Ceada, the common capital punishment at Sparta for the worst malefactors. All are said to have been killed by the fall except Aristomenes; whose survival was thought so wonderful that miracles were invented to account for it. An eagle, it was reported, fluttering under him, so far supported him that he arrived at the bottom unhurt. How far miraculous assistance was necessary to his preservation, we cannot certainly know; but the plain circumstances of the story, though extraordinary, have, as far as appears, nothing contrary to nature. Aristomenes at first thought it no advantage to find himself alive in that horrid charnel, surrounded by his companions dead and dying, among the skeletons and putrid carcasses of former criminals. He retreated to the farthest corner he could find, and, covering his head with his cloak, lay down to wait for death, which seemed unavoidable. It was, according

to Pausanias, the third day of this dreadful imprisonment when he was startled by a little rustling noise. Rising and uncovering his eyes, he saw by the glimmering of light, which assisted him the more from his having been so long in perfect darkness, a fox gnawing the dead bodies. It presently struck him that this animal must have found some other way into the cavern than that by which himself had descended, and would readily find the same way out again. Watching therefore his opportunity, he was fortunate enough to seize the fox with one hand, while with his cloak in the other he prevented it from biting him; and he managed to let it have its way, without escaping, so as to conduct him to a narrow bury. Through this he followed, till it became too small for his body to pass; and here fortunately a glimpse of daylight caught his eye. Setting therefore his conductor at liberty, he worked with his hands till he made a passage large enough for himself to creep into day, and he escaped to Ira.

The first rumor of the re-appearance of Aristomenes found no credit at Sparta. Preparations were making for pushing the siege of Ira with vigor, and a body of Corinthian auxiliaries was marching to share in the honors of completing the conquest of Messenia. Aristomenes, receiving intelligence that the Corinthians marched and encamped negligently, as if they had no enemy to fear, issued with a chosen body from Ira, attacked them by surprise in the night, routed them with great slaughter, and carried off the plunder of their camp. Then, says Pausanias, the Lacedæmonians readily believed that Aristomenes was living. Tradition says that this extraordinary warrior thrice sacrificed the Hecatomphonia, the offering prescribed among the Greeks for those who

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had slain in battle a hundred enemies with their own hands, and after this action performed that ceremony the second time.

The Lacedæmonians now, for the sake of celebrating in security their festival called Hyacinthia, which was approaching, consented to a truce for forty days. Pausanias, who is not favorable to their fame, reports that they encouraged some Cretan mercenaries in their service to watch opportunities for striking a blow against the Messenians, even during the truce; that Aristomenes was actually seized in consequence; and recovered his liberty only through the favor of a young woman in the house where he was lodged, who cut his bonds, and procured him the means of slaying his keepers.

Ol. 48. 2.
B. C.
587. N.
Ol. 27. 2.
B. C.
671. B.

Through the unskilfulness of the age in the attack of places; and the varied efforts of Aristomenes's genius to baffle the besiegers, the siege, or rather blockade, of Ira was protracted to the eleventh year. A concurrence of circumstances seemingly trifling, but which in the detail of them by Pausanias, form an important lesson for military men, at length decided its fate. In a violently tempestuous night intelligence was brought to the Lacedæmonian commander, by a private soldier, whom an intrigue with a Messenian woman had led to the discovery, that the Messenian guard at one of their posts, yielding to the weather, and trusting that the storm itself would prevent their enemies from acting, had dispersed to seek shelter. Immediately the troops were silently called to arms; ladders were carried to the spot, and the Lacedæmonians mounted unresisted. The unusually earnest and incessant barking of dogs first alarmed the garrison. Aristomenes, always watchful, hastily formed the first of his people that

he could collect ; and presently meeting the enemy, managed his defence so judiciously as well as vigorously that the Lacedæmonians, ignorant of the town, could not, during the night, attempt any farther progress. But neither could Aristomenes attempt any more than to keep the enemy at bay, while the rest of his people, arming and assembling, used their intimate knowledge of the place to occupy the most advantageous points for defending themselves and dislodging the enemy. At day-break, having disposed his whole force, and directed even the women to assist by throwing stones and tiles from the house-tops, he charged the Lacedæmonians ; whose superiority in number availed little, as they had not room to extend their front. But the violence of the storm, which continued unabated, was such as to prevent the women from acting on the roofs ; many of whom were however animated with such manly resolution for the defence of their country that they took arms and joined in the fight below. There the battle continued all day, with scarcely other effect than mutual slaughter. At night there was again a pause ; but it was such as allowed little rest or refreshment to the Messenians. The Lacedæmonian general then profited from his numbers. Sending half his forces to their camp, with the other half he kept the Messenians in constant alarm, and when day returned, he brought back his refreshed troops to renew the attack. The Messenian chiefs now became aware of their inability to expel the enemy. After consultation therefore they formed their people in the most convenient order for defending their wives and children, and most portable effects, while they should force their way out of the place. The Lacedæmonians, whose political institutions in some degree

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commanded the permission of escape for a flying enemy, gave them free passage. The Messenians directed their melancholy march to Arcadia. There they were most hospitably received by their faithful allies of that country, who divided them in quarters among their towns.

Even in this extremity of misfortune the enterprising genius of Aristomenes was immediately imagining new schemes for restoring his country, and taking vengeance on her enemies. He selected five hundred Messenians, to whom three hundred Arcadian volunteers joined themselves, with a resolution to attempt the surprise of Sparta itself, while the Lacedæmonian army was yet in the farthest part of Messenia, where Pylus and Methone still remained to be reduced. Everything was prepared for the enterprise, when some of the Arcadian chiefs received intelligence that a messenger was gone from their king Aristocrates to Sparta. The man being waylaid on his return, and seized, letters were found upon him, thanking Aristocrates both for information of the expedition intended, and for former services. An assembly of the people was summoned, in which the letters and their bearer were produced; and the leaders, in the interest opposite to Aristocrates, so excited the anger of the commonalty against their treacherous prince that he was stoned to death;

Pausan.
1. 4. c. 22.
Polyb.
1. 4. p. 301.
Plut. de
sera Num.
Vind.

a pillar being erected with an inscription, warning future chiefs of the vengeance of the Deity, which unfailingly sooner or later overtakes traitors and perjurors.²⁷

²⁷ The notice of this by so informed and careful a historian as Polybius may perhaps be reckoned to warrant, in some degree, the circumstances of Messenian history transmitted only by writers of less authority. Pausanias mentions the pillar as remaining in his late age.

The Pylians, Methonæans, and other Messenians of the coast, judging themselves unequal to the defence of their towns, embarked with their effects in what vessels they could collect, and sailed to Cyllene, a port of Elea. Thence they sent a proposal to their fellowcountrymen in Arcadia to go all together and settle a colony wherever they could find an advantageous establishment; and they desired Aristomenes for their leader. The proposal was readily accepted by the people, and, as far as concerned them, approved by the general; but excusing himself, he sent his son Gorgus, with Manticlus, son of his friend the prophet Theocles, to conduct the enterprise. Still it remained to be decided to what uninhabited or ill-inhabited coast they should direct their course. Some were for Zacynthus, some for Sardinia; but winter being already set in, it was soon agreed to put off the determination till spring. In the interval a fortunate occurrence offered. After the abandoning of Ithome, which concluded the former war, some Messenians, joining with some adventurers from Chalcis in Eubœa, had wandered to Italy, and there founded the town of Rhegium. These colonists had perpetual variance with the Zanclæans on the opposite coast of Sicily; a people also of Grecian origin, the first of whom were pirates, who settled there under Crataemenes of Samos, and Perieres of Chalcis. Anaxilas, now prince of Rhegium, was of Messenian race. Hearing therefore of this second catastrophe of his mother-country, he sent to inform the Messenians at Cyllene, that in his neighbourhood there was a valuable territory, and a town most commodiously situated, which should be theirs if they would assist him in dispossessing the present proprietors, his inveterate enemies.

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Strabo,
l. 6. p. 257.
& 268.
Pausan.
l. 4. c. 23.

CHAP. IV. The offer was accepted : the confederates, victorious by sea and land, besieged Zancle ; and reducing the inhabitants to extremity, an accommodation was agreed upon, by which it was determined that the Messenians and Zanclæans should hold the city and country in common as one people, but that the name should be changed to Messene.

OI. 43. 3.
B. C.
583. N.
OI. 27. 4.
B. C.
669. B.

Aristomenes for some time still indulged the hope, through some favoring contingency, to avenge his country on the Lacedæmonians. But, going to Delphi, he found the directors of the oracle too wise to allow the Pythoness to prophesy him any encouragement. Yet though he was no longer to shine in a public situation, fortune was favorable to his private happiness. Damagetus, prince, or, as he is styled by Grecian writers, tyrant, of Ialysus in the island of Rhodes, happened to be at Delphi inquiring of the oracle whom he should marry; for it seems to have been about this time that Delphi was in highest repute; individuals often straining their circumstances to obtain its advice on their more interesting private concerns. To a question in its nature rather puzzling the Pythoness gave a very prudent answer, and at the same time of uncommonly obvious interpretation. She directed Damagetus to take the daughter of the man of highest character among the Greeks. Aristomenes, then on the spot, was unquestionably in reputation the first of the Greeks, and he had a daughter unmarried. Damagetus made his proposals, which were accepted; and Aristomenes passed with him to Rhodes, where he is said to have passed the rest of his life in honorable ease.

The Lacedæmonians found their newly conquered country almost a desert, the Asinæans, only, whom on the conclusion of the former war they had planted

in Messenia, retaining their settlement. To the ^{SECT.}
 Nauplians, lately ejected from their country by the ^{IV.}
 Argives, was now given the town and territory of <sup>Pausan. l. 4.
c. 24.</sup>
 Methone. The rest of Messenia was divided among <sup>Strabo, l. 8.
p. 373.</sup>
 the Lacedæmonian people. Those of the miserable ^{p. 373.}
 inhabitants, who had been either unable or unwilling
 to seek their fortune out of their native country,
 were reduced to the condition of Helots.

Such is the account given by Pausanias; for the <sup>Thueyd.
l. 6. c. 4.
& 5.</sup>
 matter in some principal points confirmed, but for <sup>Plat. de
Leg. c. 3.
p. 698. t. 2.
Strabo,
l. 6. p. 268.</sup>
 the time of the settlement in Sicily contradicted, by
 earlier and far more authoritative writers. Numbers ^{of the Messenians, unwilling or unable to emigrate,}
 remained in the country, subjected to the harsh do-
 minion of their conquerors. Many years then after
 Aristomenes, if his age is rightly assigned, they rose
 again in arms, and maintained a war which put La-
 cedæmon a third time to difficulty. Overborne at
 length by superior force, a large part were reduced
 to the condition and name of Helots. Then it was
 that a fortunate number found means to escape from
 the country, and under the patronage of Anaxilas,
 prince of Rhegium, established themselves in Zancle,
 which had from them the name of Messena. This
 new settlement of the Peloponnesian Messenians,
 among many heavy misfortunes generally florishing,
 has always been a great city, at one time the capital
 of the island; and an interesting memorial of a brave
 and unfortunate people is yet preserved in its name,
 with us commonly, according to the Latin ortho-
 graphy, Messina, but in its own country Messana,
 the original Doric form unaltered, to this day.

Here we might naturally suppose the history of
 Messenia ended. But we shall, in the sequel, find
 its unfortunate people still taking part occasionally

CHAP. in Grecian affairs, and at length, after more than a century and a half, by a very extraordinary revolution, becoming again the free masters of their ancient country, and a respected portion of the Greek nation.

IV.

During the long course of years, from the first hostilities with Messenia to the completion of the conquest, Lacedæmon was not without wars with other neighbouring states, nor without political convulsions at home: but the chronology of that period is so utterly uncertain that it appears a vain attempt to arrange the facts reported, in scattered passages, by ancient authors of best credit. Very early, we are told, a dispute arose concerning the limits of Argolis and Laconia. The Lacedæmonians ejected the Argives from Cynuria. Then they asserted, with similar violence, a claim to the territory of Thyrea. In the old age of king Theopomus, according to Pausanias, (therefore between the first and second Messenian wars, though Herodotus seems to refer it to a later date,) the armies of the two states meeting, it was determined, in a conference of the leaders, that the right to the lands in dispute should be decided by a combat between three hundred men from each army. The rest of the troops on both sides retired. The six hundred fought with such determined valor, and such equal strength and skill, that two Argives only, Chromius and Alcenor, remained alive; with not a single Lacedæmonian, as far as in the dusk of advanced evening they could perceive, surviving to oppose them. Eager therefore to relate their victory, they hastened to the Argive camp. But, during the night, Othryades, a Lacedæmonian, recovering from the loss of blood under which he had fainted, found himself, weak as he was, undisputed master of the field. His strength suf-

Pausan.
l. 10. c. 9.
Herodot.
l. 1. c. 82.
Plutarch.
Parall.
Min. vid. et
Thucyd.
l. 5. c. 41.

ficed to form a trophy from the arms of his slain enemies, and he rested on the spot. On the morrow the Argives learned with astonishment that the Lacedæmonians claimed the victory. Another conference was held in which neither party would yield its pretensions. The armies again met; and, after a most obstinate conflict, the Argives were defeated. The measure which followed, reported by Herodotus, and confirmed by Plato, strongly characterizes both the spirit of war and the spirit of government of the times. The whole Argive people having cut off their hair, (a common mark of public mourning,) it was decreed, with solemn curses against transgressors, that 'no man should suffer his hair to grow, and no woman wear ornaments of gold, till Thyrea were recovered.' The animosity long afterward subsisting between Lacedæmon and Argos, with recollection of these circumstances, will less appear extraordinary.

SECT.
IV.

Plat. Phæd.
p. 89. t. 1.

The Lacedæmonians had also early and long contentions with the Arcadians. These allied themselves with the Argives; with whose assistance the city of Tegea, formed, as we have before observed, by an assemblage of the inhabitants of nine villages, was fortified, and became capable of protecting the Arcadian borders against Lacedæmonian inroads. None of the neighbouring people, in the earlier times, opposed Spartan encroachments with more valor or more success than the Tegeans. The Lacedæmonians however, after often suffering considerable losses, at length gained some advantages; and the circumstances of the times induced that politic people to use the opportunity for forming a close alliance with the brave mountaineers, who in the sequel proved highly serviceable to them in their more extensive views of ambition.

Ch. 4.
sec. 1. of
this Hist.
Herodot.
l. 1. c. 65.
Pausan.

l. 8. c. 45.

CHAP.
IV.

As it is in the nature of human affairs that things most advantageous shall have their inherent evils, so the nice balance, established by the Spartan lawgiver between the several powers of the government, naturally produced a constant and often violent struggle of factions. But as the Lacedæmonian institutions were unfavorable to literature, as they strongly enforced secrecy on politics, and as foreigners had little access to Sparta, remaining information of the internal transactions of that state is very defective.

Thucyd.
I. I. c. 18.
Plat. de
Rep. I. 8.
p. 545. t. 2.
Isocrat.
Panathen.
Plato,
Epist. 8.
p. 354. t. 3.
Xenoph. de
Rep. Lac.
Arist. Polit.
Plutarch.
Lycurg.

Authors of greatest credit are not to be reconciled concerning the first establishment of those magistrates called Ephors, who, in course of time, acquired almost a despotic authority. Herodotus, Plato, and Xenophon refer it to Lycurgus: Aristotle, Plutarch, and others, to the king Theopomus, who completed the first conquest of Messenia. If magistrates with such a title were appointed by Lycurgus, the tenor of that lawgiver's institutions will not permit us to suppose that he meant to allow them the powers which they afterward exercised. He certainly favored oligarchy; and possibly the large authority which he committed to the senate might sometimes be abused. But from the consent of Grecian writers it appears that, if the ephors were not first appointed under Theopomus, their powers and privileges were considerably augmented under his reign. That prince either found it necessary, for prevention of commotion, to grant indulgence to the people, or convenient, for his own power, to raise an authority capable of balancing the overbearing spirit of the senate;²⁸ whence perhaps the saying reported of him,

²⁸ To such a balance Plato, or whoever wrote the epistle attributed to him, seems to refer, where he calls the senate and the college of Ephors Φάρμακον τῆς βασιλικῆς ἀρχῆς σωτήριον. Epist. 8. p. 354. t. 3.

on being reproached for transmitting the regal au- Plutarch.
Apoph.
Lac.
thority diminished to his posterity, ‘that on the Apoph.
Lac.
‘contrary he should transmit it greater, inasmuch as
‘he should transmit it firmer.’

The ephors were five in number, elected from the Arist. Polit.
I. 2. c. 9.
Plutarch.
Lycurg. &
Agesil. &
Cleomen.
people and by the people; and the purpose of their office was at first merely to preserve to the people their constitutional rights against any attempts of the kings or senate. The tribunes of Rome afterward, in the cause of their appointment, in the purpose of their office, in their original powers and privileges, and in what they by degrees assumed, very remarkably resembled the Spartan ephors; and the history of both shows the inherent impotence of the ancient democracy, which, in two of the best constituted commonwealths of antiquity, unable to maintain its own rights, was reduced to the absurd necessity of creating and supporting a tyrannical magistracy to defend them. In these the democracy was combined with aristocracy. Where it was pure, things were still worse, as in the sequel of the history will be seen.

CHAPTER V.

Summary view of the state of the northern provinces of Greece, and of the establishment of the early Grecian colonies; with the history of Athens from the Trojan War to the first public transaction with Persia.

SECTION I.

View of the state of the northern provinces of Greece after the Trojan War. History of Athens from the Trojan War to the abolition of royalty, and the appointment of hereditary archons.

CHAP.
V.

WHILE Lacedæmon, partly through the internal vigor of its singular constitution, partly by conquest, was raising itself to a pre-eminence among the Grecian states, which since the expulsion of the princes of the house of Pelops from the throne of Argos, none had obtained, a rival power of very different character, and very different institutions, was more silently growing without Peloponnesus. But the divisions, whence arose the weakness and insignificance of the other Grecian people, were among the circumstances principally contributing to set Lacedæmon and Athens at the head of the nation. During some centuries after the Trojan war no history remains of the northern provinces beyond confused accounts of migrations and expulsions, which were frequent, and predatory wars, which were almost unceasing. The early eminence of the Thessalian people among the Greeks has formerly occurred

SECT.

I.

for notice. Afterward troubles arose which, without any foreign war reported by ancient writers, reduced them to political insignificance. Hence, from Homer's age downward, only scanty and unconnected notices of their circumstances are to be gathered from the history of other states, principally of Athens. Nevertheless, through the excellence of their soil, such was the superiority of its produce to the consumption, they were always reckoned among the richest people of Greece. The rest mountainous, their country a rich plain, adapted to the production of herbage, the wealthy among them addicted themselves to horsemanship, and their cavalry was more numerous than that which all Greece besides could maintain. Amid the obscurity of their history it appears that wars among themselves drove a considerable portion of their people, distinguished by the name of Bœotians, to emigrate. In the general weakness of the Grecian states, the extensive troubles following the Trojan war, a small number of them found means to establish themselves in the neighbourhood of Thebes. It was, according to Thucydides, only sixty years after that war that the whole of the Bœotian Thessalians followed, and, overpowering the Cadmeans, became masters of the entire province thenceforward called from them Bœotia. Thebes, which, as Homer indicates, had been much reduced by wars preceding that of Troy, became the principal seat of the Bœotians, and under them rose again to importance. Of the Thessalians two communities, distinguished by the names of Perrhaebians and Magnetes, were less fortunate. Overcome in war, they were allowed to retain their territories, but under subjection to the other Thessalians, a subjection apparently similar to that of the Laconians under the Spartans. Another branch of the Thessalian

B. C.
841. N.
1124. B.
Thucyd.
l. 1. c. 12.
Schol. ad
Iliad. l. 2.
v. 505.
Ch. 1. s. 4.
of this Hist.

Theopomp.
ap. Athen.
1. 6. p. 265.
b. ed. Ca-
saub. et
alibi.
Jul. Poll.
1. 3. c. 83.

people, the Penestians, were deprived of territory, and reduced to servitude nearly similar to that of the Helots under the Lacedæmonians, though somewhat less severe and degrading. A people who so quarrelled among themselves would not be likely to be peaceable neighbours to others. Accordingly wars arose between the Thessalians and their neighbours the Phocians, nearly such as our border-wars of former times, in our own country, and in France and Spain. Hence arose a hereditary animosity between Thessalians and Phocians of most pernicious character.

The history of Bœotia, to a late period, remarkably verifies an observation of the great poet upon its circumstances at a very early day, ‘that none could live there without the protection of fortifications.’¹ Military spirit is a plant naturally flourishing in almost every barbaric soil. Political wisdom, without which military spirit is of very uncertain worth, requires much and careful culture, and, even in circumstances the most favorable, is of slow growth. The Bœotians could conquer, but they knew not how to legislate: they could spurn the tyranny of one, but they knew not how to establish the equal liberty of all. In the country which they had subdued Thebes, by its central situation, the natural strength of the eminence on which stood the citadel, the largeness of the town, its copious springs of purest water, and the fruitfulness of the surrounding plain, invited the residence of the chiefs; who proposed thence to rule the other

Thucyd.
1. 3. c. 61.

¹ Mentioning the building of the walls of Thebes by Zethus and Amphion, the poet adds;

Ἐπειδὴ μὲν ἀπύργωτὸν γ' ἐδίναντο
Ναιέμεν εὐρύχορον Θήσην, κρατερώ περ ἔστε.

Odyss. 1. 11. v. 263.

towns, in which they settled their followers. But the rich acquisition made by arms was not without arms to be preserved : the whole people must be still military; and every township must suffice for its own protection, at least against sudden attacks from near neighbours, against whose spirit of war and rapine military force only could give security. With such necessary military power some civil power must be allowed for the internal government of each municipality. The difficulty then, the universal difficulty Ch. 4. s. 1. of Grecian legislation, was to provide advantageous bonds by which all should be united, so that each might be protected by the strength of all, yet all be free. of this Hist.

Remaining information of the Bœotian constitution is very imperfect, but that it was unequal to its purpose is abundantly evident. Magistrates, with the title of Bœotarch, presided over the affairs of the whole Bœotian people. When Thucydides wrote these were in number eleven. Afterward, according to Diodorus and Pausanias, they were only seven. Perhaps the number varied, as the power of Thebes rose or sunk, or as the smaller towns suffered or successfully resisted oppression. The election of these great officers was annual; their authority, like that of the kings of old, principally military; they commanded in chief the Bœotian armies. They presided also over the political administration, but under control of four councils. How those councils were constituted we are not informed, nor whether they possessed legislative as well as administrative power. Deputies from all the Bœotian towns met occasionally in one assembly, where the Bœotarchs presided: but this assembly seems to have been rather convened on extraordinary occasions than permanent or periodical,

*Thucyd.
I. 4. c. 91.*

*Diodor.
I. 15. c. 53.
Pausan.*

I. 9. c. 13.

*Thucyd.
I. 5. c. 37.*

CHAP. for transacting ordinary business, whether of administration or legislation. In general every town legislated for itself. All were thus truly separate republics; and while Thebes always claimed a right of presidency, at least of military presidency, a kind of protectorship, over all, the others would often insist that they were united only by voluntary league, and competent to decide severally concerning all foreign interests as well as internal administration. All the towns of Bœotia, not less than of the rest of Greece, were divided between an oligarchical and a democratical party; but in these early times, the oligarchical mostly prevailing in Thebes, the influence of that leading city sufficed long to give oligarchy a general preponderancy in Bœotian politics.

The favorable circumstances by which ATHENS became early populous and polished beyond the other Grecian cities have already occurred for notice. From the time of the Trojan war till after the Dorian conquests in Peloponnesus nothing occurs important for history. But such a revolution as that effected by the Heraclidæ could not be without material consequences to a neighbouring state. The Athenian territory at that time extended to the Corinthian isthmus; where, to mark the limits, a pillar had been erected, on one side of which was engraved, ‘This is Peloponnesus, not Ionia;’ for so Attica was then called; on the other side, ‘This is Ionia, not Peloponnesus.’ But the people of the peninsula itself, throughout the province that stretches along the coast westward from the isthmus, were of Ionian race. When Tisamenus, with his Achæan followers from Argos and Lacedæmon, had procured security to this country against the Heraclidæ, its narrow bounds were found unequal to the increased population: the

Herodot.
I. 6. c. 108.
Thucyd.
I. 3. c. 61.

Strabo,
I. 9. p. 392.

new comers then prevailing against the ancient possessors, the Ionian families were mostly compelled to emigrate. Athens, commonly hospitable to the unfortunate, amid those extensive troubles through Peloponnesus, principally afforded refuge. Not only ^{Strabo,}
^{1. 9. p. 393.}
[&]
^{1. 14. p. 633.} the Ægolian Ionians, but many Messenians also, under Melanthus prince of Pylus, resorted thither. The Athenians were then engaged in war with Bœotia; and on this account, and perhaps through some dread also of the conquering Dorians, were the more solicitous to accommodate all that offered, as an addition of strength to the state. Nor was the charity unproductive of reciprocal benefit. The armies of Athens and Bœotia meeting, the Bœotian king proposed to decide the matter in dispute between the two states by single combat between himself and Thymœtes, then king of Athens. Thymœtes, probably knowing himself inferior in bodily strength and agility, declined the challenge. But the temper of ^{1. 9. p. 393.} the times was favorable to that mode of deciding political controversies.² Melanthus therefore, the Messenian prince, who had his fortune to seek, offered himself for champion of the Athenians, and was accepted: he was victorious, and the sceptre of Athens was his reward. Thymœtes was deposed, and with him ended the succession of the family of Theseus.

Tradition is little accurate concerning a war which followed between the Athenians and Peloponnesians. But a conquering people is commonly an overbearing people; the protection given by Athens to the refugees from Peloponnesus would afford pretence; and the Dorians, soon after their establishment in the

² In the return of the Heraclidæ, according to Strabo, the possession of Elea was so determined κατὰ ἔθος τι παλαιὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων. Strab. l. 8. p. 357.

Herodot.
 1. 5. c. 65.
 Pausan.
 1. 2. c. 18.

CHAP. V. peninsula, making encroachments on the Athenian frontier, founded the town of Megara on the northern coast of the Saronic gulf. When Codrus succeeded his father Melanthus in the kingdom of Attica, Megara seems to have been already firmly settled. Hostilities however continued, or were recommenced ; and so large assistance came to the Megarians from Peloponnesus that Athens itself was threatened with subversion. While the hostile armies were encamped so near together that a battle appeared unavoidable, the Delphian oracle was consulted about the event. The answer of the Pythoness was understood to import that the Peloponnesians would be victorious, provided they did not kill the Athenian king. This response being promulgated, Codrus, in the heroic spirit of the age, determined to devote his life for the good of his country. Disguising himself in the habit of a peasant, with a fagot on his shoulder, and a hook in his hand, he entered the enemy's camp. Observing in one part a crowd of soldiers, he pushed in among them ; words arose ; he struck a soldier with his hook ; the soldier retorted with his sword, and Codrus was killed.³ Inquiry being presently made about the tumult, the body was found to be that of the king

³ The spot where Codrus fell was preserved in memory, or pretended to be preserved, in the time of Pausanias, and shown near the altar of the Muses on the bank of the Ilissus, opposite to the temple of Diana Agrotera. Pausan. l. 1. c. 19. The ruins of that temple are noticed by Sir George Wheler in his account of his journey into Greece, and remain transmitted for the admiration and imitation of posterity in Stuart's Antiquities of Athens. But when, a few years after, those ruins were sought by the editor of Stuart's last volume, not a vestige of them was found remaining. Lime having been wanted for some purpose of the Turkish government, all had been so consumed. No other apology surely can be wanted for those who have removed valuable relics of Grecian art to countries of better safety for them.

Strabo,
1. 9. p. 393.

B. C.
804. N.
1070. B.

Lycurg.
or. con.
Leocrat.
Pausan.
l. 7. c. 25.
Vel. Patrc.
l. 1. c. 2.
Justin.
l. 2. c. 6.

of Athens; upon which the Peloponnesian chiefs, SECT. I.
dreading the accomplishment of the oracle to their overthrow, hastily withdrew their forces into Peloponnesus, and a peace with Megara seems to have followed.

The death of Codrus, while it thus fortunately delivered Athens from the dangers of foreign war, was the immediate cause of internal sedition, threatening nearly equal evils. Medon, eldest son of Codrus, Pausan. 1. 7. c. 2. was lame: and bodily ability still held so high rank in popular estimation that his younger brother made advantage of this defect to dispute the succession with him. Each found strong support. But the contention brought forward a third party which declared they would have no king but Jupiter. Schol. in Aristoph. Nub. The most fatal consequences were to be apprehended, when fortunately a declaration of the Delphian oracle was procured in favor of Medon, and the business was amicably accommodated. It was determined that, after Codrus, who had merited so singularly of his country, none ought to be honored with a title, of which it was impossible for any living man to be comparatively worthy: that Medon nevertheless should be first magistrate of the commonwealth, with the title of Archon, chief, or prince; and that this honor should remain hereditary in his family; but that the Archon should be accountable to the assembly of the people for due administration of his high office. But Attica then, through the multitude of refugees, overbounding with inhabitants, it was agreed that a colony should be sent out, of which Androclus and Neleus, younger sons of Codrus, should be leaders. So inviting then were the opportunities in prospect for military adventure that the restless spirits mostly joined in the migration: the storm of contending factions thus

CHAP. V. appears to have been dispersed: the affairs of the commonwealth having flowed so far smoothly for some generations after that no materials for its history remain.

SECTION II.

Grecian Islands: Æolic and Ionic migrations: Grecian colonies in Asia Minor, Thrace, Cyprus, Africa, Sicily, Italy, Gaul, and Spain; whence commerce with Britain.

While Athens thus was enjoying repose, and the ambition of Lacedæmon was yet confined within the narrow bounds of Peloponnesus, the theatre of Grecian action, or, it may be said, Greece itself, was expanding very greatly through those numerous colonies which were poured forth in every direction. Of the Grecian islands Crete almost alone has occurred hitherto as an object of history. The others of the Ægean sea were anciently held, and perhaps originally, some by Phenicians, but most by the people called Leleges, a branch apparently of the Pelasgian horde. All were given to piracy, for which the circumstances of that sea, in combination with the ancient manner of navigation, and division of dominion, afforded peculiar opportunities. Minos king of Crete is said to have done much toward repressing this evil; expelling many from their settlements, and planting new colonists in them. Afterward the power of the Cretan kings decaying, some of those islands became independent, and others were variously subjected. Eubœa, one of the largest and most valuable in the Grecian seas, never probably was under the dominion of the Cretan kings. It is indeed scarcely in the circumstances of an island; being separated from the coast of Boeotia by a channel so narrow and shallow

Thucyd.
l. 1. c. 4.
& 8.

Herodot.
l. 1. c. 171.

Strab. l. 12.
p. 572. &
L 14. p. 661.

as to be in effect an adjoining peninsula. While the Ionic Pelasgians of Attica spread southward into Peloponnesus, they had also extended their settlements northward into this island, where Chalcis and Eretria are said to have been Athenian colonies before the Trojan war. Those two cities, though distinct governments, yet maintained such close alliance as to form almost one state, and became very flourishing. They held the neighbouring islands of Andros, Tenos, and Ceos in subjection: they extended the Grecian name northward by planting the peninsulas of Pallene and Athos, together with the territory around Olynthus on the confines of Thrace and Macedonia; and they established colonies in Italy and Sicily.

SECT.
II.Strab. I. 10.
p. 447, 448.

It has been supposed by some authors, but apparently without good ground, that, before the Trojan war, migrations had been made from Greece to Asia Minor. We have seen that the earliest known people of the western parts of that country differed little in origin or in language from the inhabitants of Greece; and some of the towns on the coast were held by people so unquestionably Grecian, at so early a period, that the antiquarians of aftertimes, unwilling to allow anything to be Greek that did not originate from Greece, were at a loss to account for their establishment. Miletus, mentioned by Homer in his Catalogue, and Teos, and Smyrna are said by Strabo to have been Grecian towns before the Trojan war: a testimony concurring with many others to indicate that the early inhabitants of Greece and of the western coast of Lesser Asia were of one race and one language. The great Æolic and Ionic migrations nevertheless made a great revolution in that fine country, giving it, in large proportion, a new people. Of those extraordinary and important events, no ancient author

Wood on
Homer.Chap. I.
sect. 4. of
this Hist.Strabo,
I. 14. p. 573.
633. & 634.
Pausan.
l. 7. c. 2.

CHAP. having left any complete account, it must be endeavoured to connect the scattered information remaining from writers of best authority, among whom Strabo will be our principal guide.
V.

Not the prosperity, not the policy, but the troubles and misfortunes of the country gave origin to the principal colonies from Greece. The *ÆOLIC MI-*

Strabo,
l. 9. p. 402.
l. 10. p. 447.
l. 13. p. 582.
Pausan.
l. 2. c. 2.

GRATION was an immediate consequence of the conquest of Peloponnesus by the Heraclidæ. Penthilus, one of the sons of Orestes, took refuge upon that occasion in Eubœa, whither numerous Peloponnesians followed. Some found settlements there; but the greater part, joined by a powerful body of Bœotians, passed with their prince into Thrace. He dying,

Wood on
Homer.

his son Echelatus led the colony across the Helles-

pont, and made himself master of Troy; putting then,

it is supposed, a final period to that unfortunate city,

Strabo,
l. 13. p. 582.

and to the name of its people. Meanwhile Cleues and

Malaus, also of the race of Agamemnon, had assembled a number of Peloponnesian fugitives on Mount Phricius in Locris, near Thermopylæ; and being apparently strong enough to force their way thence

l. 13. p. 586.

to Asia Minor, founded the town of Cuma. Thus

the whole coast, from Cyzicus on the Propontis to the river Hermus, and soon after the island of Lesbos, conquered by Grais son of Echelatus, became settled by Peloponnesians and Bœotians, and received the name of *Æolis* or *Æolia*. How long the monarchy was maintained, we find no information. Very early however the *Æolian* towns appear to have become, like those of the mother country, separate republics.

An assembly at Cuma, for a common sacrifice, but, as far as appears, without any professed political object, assisted to support some political connexion between the *Æolian* towns.

Herodot.
l. 1. c. 149.
& 157.

The great IONIC MIGRATION took place somewhat later, but produced colonies yet more flourishing. It was led from Athens by Androclus and Neleus, younger sons of Codrus, upon the occasion, already mentioned, of the determination of the succession to the archonship in favor of Medon. A great multitude followed: many Athenians, and almost all the Ionian and Messenian families which the Dorian conquest had driven for refuge to Athens. They seized the finest part of the coast of Asia Minor, and, in the opinion of Herodotus, the finest country under the most favorable climate in the world; extending from the river Hermus southward to the headland of Posideon, and including the islands of Chios and Samos. The Carian inhabitants expelled, the Grecian are said to have been associated; and twelve cities were founded, which became all very considerable: Ephesus, Miletus, Myus, Lebedos, Colophon, Priene, Teos, Erythræ, Phocæa, Clazomenæ, Chios, and Samos; to which was afterward added Smyrna, acquired from the Æolians. Androclus fixed his residence at Ephesus, Neleus at Miletus. The authority of the former is said by Strabo to have extended over all the settlements. But monarchal was early superseded by republican government, and the claim of separate sovereignty for every municipal administration followed. A confederacy however, better established apparently than the Æolian, connected the Ionian cities, through a regular general council, called Panionion, or the Panonian Synod. Its sessions were originally held in a desert spot of the promontory of Mycale, and Neptune was the deity to whom it addressed sacrifices and looked for protection. Afterward, among the wars of the country, a situation in readier reach of human help being

Herodot. 1. 9. c. 97.

Strab. l. 14.

p. 632.

633.

Diodor. l. 15. c. 49.

Pausan.

l. 7. c. 2.

Ælian. Var. Hist.

l. 8. c. 5.

Herodot. l. 1. c. 142.

Herodot. l. 1. c. 143.

148.

Strabo,

l. 14.

p. 639.

Diodor.

l. 15. c. 49.

CHAP. V. found requisite, a place was chosen, still not within the walls of a town, but near Ephesus. The territory thus acquired on the continent of Asia Minor, scarcely anywhere perhaps extending forty miles from the coast up the country, was however, in length from the north of Æolis to the south of Ionia, near four hundred.

Still the Greeks acquired settlements southward of this tract, within the bounds of that corner of Asia which the great migrations had left to the Carians,

Herodot.
I. 1. c. 171.
I. 7. c. 99.

genuine descendants of the Leleges, and which re-

tained the name of Caria. Here the Trœzenians

founded Halicarnassus, which became much more

considerable than the parent city. The adjacent island

of Rhodes had been very early occupied by people of

Grecian race, some from Crete, it is said, some from

Thessaly: and Homer relates, that Tlepolemus, son

of Hercules, carried a colony thither from Argos,

I. 2. v. 674. and afterward joined in the expedition against Troy.

The great poet celebrates the power and wealth of Rhodes. In his time it was divided between three

independent states, which were not till some centuries

after united, when the city of Rhodes was built in a

very advantageous situation for a common capital of

the island. A happy system of government pre-

vailed: people of higher rank alone directed public

affairs, but provision was made for the welfare and

security of all.⁴ Hence Rhodes long flourished in

commerce, arts, and arms, and extended its dominion

over a considerable territory upon the neighbouring

continent. The Halicarnassians meanwhile held Cos,

⁴ Strabo is warm in eulogy of the Rhodian government:

Θαυμαστὴ ἡ εὐνομία. And his phrase to express its character is

particularly remarkable: *Δημοκρηδεῖς δὲ εἰσιν οἱ Ῥόδιοι, καὶ περ οὐδῆμοκρατούμενοι.* I. 14. p. 652.

with some smaller islands, in subjection. Other towns SECT.
II. on the continent and in the island were founded by colonies from Megara. The Carian colonies in general boasted the DORIAN name. Their people, like the Strabo,
ut ant. *Æolian* and Ionian, held meetings for common sacrifice, for which the promontory of Triopium was the chosen place; but their political connexion, like that of the *Æolians*, was very imperfect.

The northern coast of the *Ægean* sea was not successfully and permanently settled by people from southern Greece so early as the eastern. It was however still an early period when, beside the acquisitions already mentioned of the Eubœans, all the best situations on the THRAZIAN shore, and on both sides Herodot.
1. 2. c. 33. &
1. 4. c. 12. of the PROPONTIS, were possessed by Greeks, and some establishments were made far in the Euxine sea. MACEDONIA, occupied by a colony from Argos, under a leader of the family of Temenus the Heraclidean, will require its own history.

But these were not the most distant, or the most extraordinary of the Grecian acquisitions in those remote ages. Poetical tradition says, and the most judicious Grecian writers adopted the report, that, shortly after the Trojan war, Teucer, son of Telamon, and brother of the celebrated Ajax, leading a colony from the little island of Salamis on the coast of Attica, founded the city of Salamis in CYPRUS. Unquestionably Cyprus was very early settled by Greeks. It had still earlier been occupied by the Phenicians; from whom it derived that worship of the goddess Venus, originally a Syrian goddess, for which it became early and continued long remarkable. Cyprus was then wooded like the uncleared parts of America. The Phenicians therefore, who, through their superiority in arts and manufactures, found more Pindar.
Nem. 4.
Isocrat.
Nicocl.
p. 120. t. 1.
Strabo,
1. 14. p. 682. Herodot.
l. 1. c. 105.
Homer.
Odys.
l. 8. v. 362.
Strabo,
1. 14. p. 684.

CHAP. immediate profit in trading to inhabited countries
 V. than in planting the uninhabited, seem not to have been averse to the establishment of Greek adventurers there. On the contrary, the overabundance of wood and the consequent scarcity of people were esteemed such inconveniences, and the value of soil covered with wood was so trifling, that it was long customary to give lands to any who would clear them. Colony therefore followed colony, from Laconia, from Argos, from Athens, and some other parts. Thus, in time, Cyprus became completely a Grecian island; and, from being an object for nothing but its ship-timber and its copper-mines, was made a rich and populous country, fruitful in corn, and famous for the excellence and abundance of its wines and oil. It was however, in early times, divided into too many little states for any one to become considerable; and these fell mostly under that reprobated sort of monarchy which the Greeks denominated tyranny.⁵

Strabo,
1.14. p. 684.

Herodot.
I. 4. c. 147.
155.
Strabo, I. 10.
p. 448. &
I. 17. p. 387.
Ol. 37. 3.
B. C. 630.
N. and B.

Among the most southern of that cluster of little islands in the Ægean sea, called the Cyclades, is Thera, planted at an early period by a colony from Lacedæmon. This little island also sent out its colony: the city of Cyrene in AFRICA originated thence; and through the excellence of its soil, the opportunity of extending its territory, the convenience of its situation for commerce, and the advantage of its climate for productions valuable in exchange, Cyrene rose to an importance impossible for the mother-country ever to attain. Its horses, of Arabian breed, by their victories on the course of Olympia, procured celebrity to their owners and their country from the pen of Pindar; whose extant works bear

⁵ Κατὰ πόλεις ἐτυραννοῦντο οἱ Κύπροι. Strabo, p. 684.

testimony to the early wealth of Cyrene, and to the largeness of the towns that arose from it over that part of Africa which acquired the name of the Cyrenaic. Barca, afterward called Ptolemais, became early a considerable independent commonwealth.

Thus great and thus widely spread were the early Grecian colonies eastward, northward, and southward; and yet they were exceeded, in historical importance at least, by those planted toward the west. ITALY Strabo, l. 6. p. 267. and SICILY, in Homer's time, were scarcely known but by name. They were regions of imaginary monsters and real savages; and the great poet has described these as accurately as he has painted those fancifully. 'Neither plowing nor sowing,' he says, Odyss. l. 9. v. 108. 'they feed on the spontaneous productions of the soil. They have no assemblies for public debate; 'no magistrates to enforce laws; no common concerns 'of any kind: but they dwell in caverns on mountain-tops; and every one is magistrate and lawgiver to 'his own family.'

The calamities and various confusion ensuing from the Trojan war are said to have occasioned the first Grecian migrations to those countries: and this appears probable, though we should not implicitly believe the traditions which name the leaders and the spots on which they severally settled. Whether Diomed, after having established colonies of his followers in Arpi, Canusium, and Sipontum in Apulia, really penetrated to the bottom of the Adriatic gulf, and became master of the country about the mouth of the Po; whether Pisa in Tuscany was built by those Peloponnesian Pisæans who had followed Nestor to the siege of Troy; and whether, as report says, at a still earlier day, the Arcadian Evander founded that village on the bank of the Tiber, which after-

Strab. l. 6. p. 283. 284.
Virg. AEn. l. 10. v. 28.
Strabo, ut sup. & l. 5. p. 215.
& p. 222.
Virg. AEn. l. 10. v. 180.
Strabo, l. 5. p. 230.
Virg. AEn. l. 8. v. 51.
313. 336.

CHAP. V. ward became Rome, must remain doubtful : still we learn with unquestionable certainty that Grecian colonies were settled in various parts of Italy at a very early period : so early, that though we can trace them very high, yet their origin lies beyond all investigation. Cuma, on the Campanian coast, though far more distant than so many others, acquired the reputation of being the oldest of all the Grecian towns both in Italy and Sicily ; because it could with the greatest certainty refer its foundation to the remotest era. It is said to have been a colony from Chalcis and Cuma in Eubœa, led by Megasthenes and Hippocles, not a great while, according to Vel-

Ibid. Strabo, I. 5. p. 243. leius Paterculus, after the founding of those towns by the Athenians. The Campanian Cuma prospered and sent out its own colonies, among which was Naples.

Vel. Paterc.

I. 1. c. 4.

Strabo, I. 6. p. 257.

Strab. I. 6.

One flourishing settlement in that inviting country would encourage farther adventures. The Chalcidians of Eubœa, we are told, finding at a following period, their population too great for their territory, consulted the Delphian oracle. The Pythoness directed them to decimate their whole people, and send a tenth to found a colony. It happened that some of the principal Messenians, of those who had fled their country after the first war with Lacedæmon, were at the same time at Delphi to ask advice of the god. The managers of the oracle commanded them to join in the adventure with the decimated Chalcidians. Both parties were pleased with the order ; and, choosing for their leader a Messenian of the Heraclidean family, they founded Rhegium on the southern point of Italy, which became a flourishing and powerful state. Not long after, Tarentum was founded by Lacedæmonians ; Locri Epizephyrii, and

Medama, by Locrians from Crissa; Scylleticum, afterward called Scyllacium, by Athenians; Crotona and Sybaris, from whose ruin rose Thurium, by Achæans; Salentum and Brundusium by Cretans. Some of these had many inferior towns within their territory: and in the end full half the coast of Italy came into the possession of Greeks.

While the Italian shores thus became Grecian ground, settlements were made with equal or superior success in SICILY. Thucydides informs us that the name by which that island first became known to the Greeks was Trinacria, and that the first inhabitants, concerning whom any tradition reached them, were the Cyclopes and Læstrygons; whose history however, with his usual judgment, he professes to leave to the poets. The Sicans, from whom it acquired the name of Sicania, he supposes to have passed from Spain; driven from their settlements there by the Ligurians. Afterward the Sicels, forced by similar violence from their native Italy, wrested from the Sicans the greatest and best part of the island, and fixed upon it that name which it still retains. At a very early period the Phenicians had established, in some of the most secure situations around the coast, not colonies, but factories, for the mere purposes of trade; and those reports, so much cultivated by the poets, of giants and monsters peculiar to Sicily, may perhaps have arisen less from the uninfluenced violence of the barbarous natives, than Phenician policy directing that violence. No Grecian trader dared venture thither: but some Phocian soldiers, in returning from the siege of Troy, being driven by stress of weather to the coast of Africa, and unable, in the imperfection of navigation, thence directly to reach Greece, crossed to the Sicilian coast. It happened that there they

Strabo, l. 6.
p. 267.

Ibid.

SECT.

II.

Thucyd.
l. 6. c. 2.
Strabo,
l. 6. p. 272.
Plut. vit.
Nic. init.

fell in with some Trojans, who, after the overthrow of their city, had wandered thus far in quest of a settlement. Brotherhood in distress united them; they found means to make alliance with the Sicans in the western part of the island; and, establishing themselves there, Trojans, Greeks, and Sicans, formed together a new people, who acquired the new name of Elymians. The strong holds of Eryx and Egesta, called Segesta by the Romans, became their principal towns.

It was, according to Ephorus, as he is quoted by Strabo, l. 6. Strabo, in the next age or generation after this event p. 267.

that Theocles or Thucles, an Athenian, driven also, by stress of weather, on the eastern coast of the island, had opportunity to observe how little formidable the barbarous inhabitants in that part really were, as well as how inviting the soil and climate. On his return he endeavoured to procure the authority of the Athenian government for establishing a colony there; but, not succeeding, he went to Chalcis in Eubœa, where his proposal was more favorably received. Many Chalcidians engaged in the adventure. From other parts of Greece many joined them; and, under the conduct of Thucles founded Naxus, the first Grecian town of Sicily.

A prosperous beginning here, as in Italy, invited more attempts. It was, according to Thucydides, in the very next year after the founding of Naxus, that Archias, a Corinthian, of Heraclidean race, led a colony to Sicily. To the southward of Naxus, but still on the eastern coast, he found a territory of uncommon fertility, with a harbour singularly safe and commodious. Within the harbour, and barely detached from the shore, was an island, about two miles in circumference, plentifully watered by that

Thucyd.
l. 6. c. 3.
Strabo,
ut sup.

Thucyd.
ut sup.
B. C.
about
650. N.
Ol. 12. 1.
B. C.
732. B.

Strabo, l. 6.
p. 270.
Swin-
burne's
Travels

remarkable fountain, which, through the poets chiefly, in Sicily,
has acquired renown by the name of Arethusa. Ex-
v. 2. p. 327.
pelling the Sicel inhabitants from this advantageous
Mosch.
post, or reducing them to slavery, he founded the
Idyll. 8.
city which became the great and celebrated Syracuse.
Meanwhile Naxus so increased and flourished that, in
the sixth year only from its foundation, its people,
still under the conduct of Thucles, driving the Sicels
before them, founded first Leontini, and soon after
Catana. About the same time a new colony from
Megara, under Lamis, founded the Hyblæan Me-
gara. It was not till above forty years after that any
settlement was attempted on the southern coast, when
a united colony of Rhodians and Cretans founded
Gela. But the superiority of the Greek nation in
Sicily was already decided; and Tauromenium, Se-
linus, Himera, Acræ, Casmenæ, Camarina, Acragas,
called by the Romans Agrigentum, and Zancle,
afterward named Messena, became considerable cities,
mostly colonies from those before founded in that
island, or in Italy, the interior remaining to the
former race of inhabitants. Strabo, l. 6.
p. 270.

It is indeed remarkable that the Greeks appear never to have coveted inland territories: their active temper led them always to maritime situations; and if driven from these, they sought still others of the same kind, however remote from their native country, rather than be excluded from the means which the sea affords for communication with all the world. Accordingly the Italian and Sicilian Greeks, (whose possessions were so extended as to acquire the name of Great Greece,) and not less the African colonies, maintained constant intercourse with the country of their forefathers: particularly they frequented the Olympian games, the great meeting for all people of Pindar.

Herodot. l. 3. c. 138.
 & l. 6. c. 21. Grecian race. Still greater advantages perhaps were derived from the yet more intimate communication maintained by some of them with the Asiatic colonies: for there Grecian art and science first rose to splendor.

Strabo, l. 6. there Grecian philosophy had its birth, and from the island of Samos on the Asiatic coast the philosopher Pythagoras, of great fame, though of very uncertain history, afterward wandering, settled at Crotona in Italy. Thus the colonies in general advanced nearly equally in improvements of art, science, and civilization, and sometimes went even before the mother country.

l. 6. p. 259. The first system of laws committed to writing among the Greeks, according to Strabo, was the celebrated code of the Epizephyrian Locrians, composed by Zaleucus; and scarcely any had greater fame, none was more extensively adopted, than that of the Catanian lawgiver Charondas. The political institutions of Zaleucus were, according to Ephorus, as he is cited by Strabo, principally taken from those of Crete and Lacedæmon; the criminal law from the practice of the court of Areopagus at Athens. It is said to have had the merit of being the first among the Greeks that secured the accused against the arbitrary authority of judges, by stating the penalty for every transgression; and the system altogether was admired for the general easiness of its application, upon liberal principles, to all possible occurrences. The religious and moral precepts, always an essential part of the system of every early lawgiver,

Diod. Sic. l. 12. c. 20.
 24. if we might give any credit to the disputed account of Diodorus, had very superior merit.⁶

⁶ The age of these lawgivers is very uncertain. Aristotle mentions it as reported that Charondas was fellow-disciple of the Spartan lawgiver Lycurgus, under the Cretan Thales, and that Zaleucus studied under Charondas. Polit. l. 2. c. 12. The

Few of the Grecian colonies were founded with any view to extend the dominion of the mother-country. Often the leaders were no more than pirates, not unlike the buccaneers of modern times. On a savage coast they seized a convenient port, set slaves to cultivate the adjoining lands, and themselves continued their cruises. When a state by a public act sent out a colony, the purpose was generally no more than to deliver itself from numbers too great for its territory, or from factious men, whose means of power at home were unequal to their ambition. Corinth however early, and in later times Athens, had sometimes farther views. Possessing naval force, they could give protection and command obedience, of which the Grecian commonwealths in general could do neither. For the most part therefore in the colonies, as in Greece itself, every considerable town claimed to be an independent state; and, unless oppressed by a powerful neighbour, maintained itself by its own strength and its alliances. But the ramification of the Grecian people from the small country distinguished by the name of Greece did not thus end. In the course of the following history the migration which gave origin to flourishing Grecian colonies in Gaul and Spain, and which seems first to have made the distant island of Britain known, even by name, to the Greeks, will require notice.

inaccurate Diodorus, on the contrary, without hesitation, makes Charondas contemporary with Pericles. It seems nevertheless unlikely that his age was so remote as Aristotle's report would make it. His reputation however was such among the Sicilian and Italian Greeks that Plato does not scruple to rank him with Solon : Χαρώνδαν μὲν γὰρ Ἰταλία καὶ Σικελία (νομοθέτην ἀγαθὸν γεγονέναι καὶ σφᾶς ὀφεληκέναι αἰτιᾶται), καὶ ἡμεῖς Σόλωνα. Plat. de Rep. l. 10. p. 599. t. 2.

SECT.
II.

Pausan.

I. 4. c. 23.

Herodot.

I. 6. c. 17.

Strabo, I. 4.

p. 158.

Plat. de

Leg. I. 5.

p. 735. t. 2.

Thucyd.

I. 1. c. 38.

SECTION III.

History of Athens from the abolition of royalty to the legislation of Solon.

After this brief survey of the extensive and important acquisitions of the Greek nation in various foreign parts, Athens, among the disjointed portions of proper Greece, next occurs for attention. Heretofore occasion has occurred to observe that all the traditions of the Greeks, concerning the early history of their country, bear strong marks, if not of accuracy, yet at least of honesty. Even those ages distinguished by the epithets poetical, fabulous, and heroic are far from abounding with matter of flattery to the Greek nation. Homer's perfect impartiality is perhaps among the greatest wonders of his works; and from the period when his history ceases to that in which the first prose historians lived, a space of at least two centuries and a half, we find absolutely nothing of what the character of vanity, so largely attributed to the Greek nation, might lead to expect. It is an observation of Sallust, that the actions of the Athenians, really great, nevertheless owe their superior reputation much to the superior manner in which their historians have related them. But those celebrated actions of the Athenians did not begin till the eyes of many enlightened and jealous people were upon them. That remote period of their history where invention, secure from conviction, might riot in flattery, is remarkably barren of circumstances flattering to the nation. Cecrops, their first hero, was no Athenian; even their favorite Theseus was not born in their country: Codrus was a Peloponnesian; and, with Codrus, heroism in the ancient

SECT.
III.

style ended. Here appears a striking difference between the histories of Greece and of Rome. The first accounts of Greece present us with a people inferior to the inhabitants of other known countries, looking up with reverence to any strangers who would do them the honor to come among them. After the times of the hydras, chimeras, flying horses, sea-monsters, and other mythological extravagances, the hero, whose actions remain recorded as most extraordinary, is Aristomenes: whose memory was cherished as the solace of an unfortunate people, while their conquerors, become the most powerful of the Greeks, attributing no remarkable celebrity to any of their great men of the same age, have left unquestionable victories to speak for themselves by their effects only. But the history of Rome, from the establishment of the consulate, is made up of gross flattery to the people at large, and to the great families in particular, till it became, in too notorious reality, a disgrace to human nature. Not that the early Romans have not deserved fame. Had we no history of Rome from the time when it was sacked by the Gauls to the time when it ruined Carthage, still we should be certain that, in that interval, it must have produced, not a few great men, but a great people. It is the history only, and not the people of Greece and Rome, that it is the purpose here to compare. In consequence of the modest veracity of the Attic historians, Athens is almost without history for some generations after the death of Codrus. The few objects occurring are not matter of boast. Twelve archons are named, who followed Medon by hereditary succession; and the vanity of aftertimes has not ascribed to any one of them, or to any one man under their government, a memorable action;

CHAP. though, according to Usher's chronology, the reigns
V. of the thirteen were of no less than three hundred
and sixteen years, from the year before Christ one
thousand and seventy, to the year seven hundred
and fifty-four. Newton, who places the death of
Codrus only eight hundred and four years before
Christ, makes the interval to the death of Alcmaeon,
the thirteenth archon, no more than one hundred
and fifty-seven. It may not be absolutely useless to
lay before the reader the barren list of names, which
the investigators of Attic antiquities have preserved,
as of persons who, under the title of king or archon,
reigned in Attica from earliest tradition to this period.
Thence it may be judged whether inventive posterity
has attributed to them an improbable proportion of
brilliant achievements. Ogyges is mentioned as a
prince who reigned at a time beyond connected tra-
dition. After an undetermined interval, the next
named is the Egyptian Cecrops. To him are said to
have succeeded Cranaus, Amphictyon, Erechtheus,
Pandion, Ægeus, Theseus, Menestheus, Demophoon,
Oxyntes, Aphidas, Thymœtes, Melanthus, Codrus,
Medon, Acastus, Archippus, Thersippus, Phorbas,
Megacles, Diogenetus, Pherecles, Ariphron, Thes-
picus, Agamestor, Æschylus, Alcmaeon. Some writers
have supposed three kings more between Amphictyon
and Ægeus; making a second Cecrops, a second
Pandion, and a second Erechtheus; or calling the
first Erichthonius.

During the reigns of the hereditary archons, we
do not learn that the Athenians had any transactions
with other people, unless from the incidental mention
by Strabo of their accession to the Calaurean league,
of which some account has already been given. The
next important occurrence in their history is a farther

change in the constitution. On the death of Alcmaeon, Ol. 33. 2. Charops was raised to the archonship upon condition of holding it for ten years only: but the naked fact alone remains recorded, unembellished as unexplained. Six archons are said to have followed Charops by appointment for ten years. But, on the expiration of the archonship of Eryxias, a farther and greater change was made; the duration of the office was reduced to a single year, and its duties were divided among nine persons. These were appointed by lot, but out of the first order of the state, the eupatrids or nobles, only. All bore the title of Archon, but they differed in dignity and in function. One principally represented the majesty of the state: by his name the year of his magistracy was distinguished; whence he was sometimes called Archon Eponymus, but more usually he was entitled simply the Archon. The second in rank had the title of King. He was head of the religion of the commonwealth, to which principally the peculiar functions of his dignity related. The Polemarch was third; and originally his office was what the title imports, chief in military affairs. The other six archons had the common title of Thesmothete: they presided as judges in the ordinary courts of justice, and the six formed a tribunal which had a peculiar jurisdiction. The nine together formed the council of state. Legislation remained with the assembly of the people; but almost the whole administration, political, military, judiciary, and religious, was with the archons.

Thucyd.
l. 1. c. 126.

Farther than this we are little exactly informed what was yet the constitution of Athens; for writing was hitherto so little practised in Greece that there were no written laws. It was therefore impossible for improvements in legislation, or in the forms of go-

CHAP. vernment, to advance with any steady pace, or, except
 V. with such extraordinary institutions as those of Crete
 and Lacedæmon, to rest on any firm ground. The
 abolition of hereditary supreme magistracy is a mea-
 sure not likely to bring internal peace to a country;
 and the Athenian history, during above a century,
 which, according to the lowest computation, passed
 between the appointment of annual archons and the
 Persian invasion, is supplied by scarcely anything but
 intestine troubles. Sovereign power being open to
 all the principal families, some, who could not obtain
 it by legal, would seek it by illegal means. Cylon,
 Herodot. a man of a very ancient and powerful house,⁷ ill bore
 l. 5. c. 71. the superiority of the Alcmæonidæ, who claimed
 Thucyd. l. 1. c. 126. descent from the perpetual archons, and the kings of
 Plut. Solon. Pausan. l. 2. c. 18. the Nelidean line. He had married the daughter of
 Theagenes, tyrant of Megara: he had been victor in
 the chariot-race at the Olympian games; a circum-
 stance which in those days of itself gave rank and
 reputation, not without some opinion of peculiar favor
 from the god of the festival; and being apparently a
 man of much ambition and little understanding, he
 interpreted a doubtful response of the Delphian oracle
 as a declaration of divine blessing upon his purpose of
 making himself, by violence, master of the republic.
 Thucyd. With some troops, which he received from his father-
 l. 1. c. 126. in-law, he seized the citadel of Athens. But he seems
 to have been little prepared for the farther prosecution
 of his enterprise. Megacles, head of the Alcmæoni-
 dean family, was archon. The people ran to arms
 under his conduct, and immediately laid siege to the
 citadel. Its strength might have enabled Cylon to
 maintain himself there, but he was without stores.

⁷ Τῶν πάλαι εὐγενῆς καὶ δυνατός. Thucyd. l. 1. c. 126.

Famine therefore pressing, he was not ashamed to seek his safety in flight, leaving his adherents to their own measures. For these the manners of the age afforded better ground of hope in the superstition than in the generosity of their enemies. Forsaking therefore their arms, they fled to the altars. Persuaded then to quit these, under promises of personal security, they were notwithstanding condemned and executed. The moral, the political, but still far more the religious guilt of this sacrilegious perfidy, made a deep impression upon the minds of the Athenian people. Political power remained with the archon and his party, but popular favor began to attach more to the cause of the injured.

A general sense of the intolerable evils of an unsettled government, and an uncertain jurisprudence, appear to have led to the legislation of Draco, which
OL. 52. I.
B. C.
soon followed. Severe morals and inflexible up-rightness seem to have been his just recommendation,
572. N.
OL. 39. I.
B. C.
while his talents unfortunately were very inferior to
623. B.
the undertaking. Leaving the political constitution nearly as he found it, he established a new system of penal law. Crimes, equally from the most enormous to the most trifling, he made capital; urging that a breach of any positive law, being treason to the juris-prudence of the state, deserved death; and he could go no farther for greater offences. The severity of such a system defeated its own purpose. Few would be accusers against inferior criminals, when the consequence was to be fatal to the accused; and the humanity of the judges interfering, where that of prosecutors was deficient, it followed that all offences not highly atrocious went wholly unpunished. The laws of Draco therefore very imperfectly relieving

Plut. Solon.

CHAP. V. the evils of a defective policy at Athens, in some instances increased them.⁸

Plut. Solon.
Justin.

1. 2. c. 7.

Meanwhile the people of Salamis, probably suffering under the weak and uncertain government of Athens, revolted, after the example of so many other members of Grecian republics, and strengthened themselves by alliance with Megara. Many attempts were made to recover the island by force of arms; but always with loss. Then followed the first instance upon record of any direct opposition of the democratical to the oligarchical part of the constitution. The people had submitted hitherto to be instruments of the great in their quarrels with one another; but now they refused any more to follow unskilful or unfortunate leaders against revolted fellow subjects. Assembling by themselves, they decreed capital punishment against any, private or magistrate, who should ever propose to lead them again in arms against Salamis. The leading men were appalled. The lower people then, having once felt their united strength, with arms in their hands, would hold it. But, masters as they were of the state, they knew not how to use their new power. United, they could prevent others from directing administration, but none were eminent enough to take the business upon themselves. The law concerning Salamis, as we learn from high authority, was not singular in its kind among the Grecian republics; but the loss of Salamis, and its connexion with a hostile state, were obviously great and threatening evils. A general dissatisfaction with their own

Thucyd.
1. 2. c. 24.

⁸ Δράκοντος δὲ νόμοι μέν εἰσι πολιτείᾳ δ' ὑπαρχούσῃ τοὺς νόμους ἔθηκεν. "Ιδιον δ' ἐν τοῖς νόμοις οὐδέν εἴναι ὅ, τι καὶ μνείας ἀξιον, πλὴν ἡ χαλεπότης, διὰ τὸ τῆς ζημίας μέγεθος. Aristot. Polit. l. 2. c. 12.

act soon became evident among the people, but none SECT.
III. dared propose a reversal of it.

In these circumstances came forward one of the greatest characters that Greece ever produced. Solon, a young man of an old and honorable family of Attica, had been distinguished hitherto by his love of learning only and his genius for poetry. Spreading report now that he had occasional accesses of madness, he for some time kept his house. The respect of the Greeks Ch. 3. s. 2.
of this Hist. for frenzy, as the effect of inspiration from a deity, has been formerly noticed. Solon for some time kept this retirement, and composed a poem adapted to excite the multitude to his purpose. Watching opportunity then, during an assembly of the people, he ran into the agora, mounted the herald's stone, whence proclamations were usually spoken, and, with demeanour as if excited by frenzy, recited his poem to the crowd. Some of his friends were at hand, prepared to admire and applaud. The people caught the frenzy, the law concerning Salamis was abrogated, and it was decreed immediately to send a fresh expedition against that island. The business coming into the hands of the party to which Solon attached himself, was conducted with prudence, and the success was answerable: the Athenians recovered the island with little loss. The government at the same time resumed in a great degree its former consistency, and the party of Megacles again directed the administration.

Among all the ancient commonwealths, of which any account remains, we find violent agitations resulting from inequality of property: the principal division of the people was into the faction of the rich and the faction of the poor, and the animosities between these were vehement, and the contests marked with acrimony. Everywhere this evil appears to have had its root in the institution of slavery; whence the

CHAP. V. operation of wealth has been remarkably similar among all the ancient republics, and remarkably different from anything known in modern Europe. Nowhere the poor had ready means of getting a livelihood by creditable industry. The rich, to acquire at the same time revenue and influence, lent their money. The poor, averse to employments which put them in appearance upon a footing with slaves, and often unable to obtain hire even for such employment, borrowed, at exorbitant interest, with their persons only to offer for security. Everywhere therefore the laws gave the lender certain rights over the person of the borrower. Thus the wealthy to the power always attending property added a power not originally intended by the constitution, yet derived from the laws, and confirmed by them. The indiscretion of the needy has always cooperated, at first, with the ambition of the rich to increase that power. The indiscretion of the rich afterward, indulging a disposition to avarice and tyranny, has at length urged the poor to resist an authority to which themselves had contributed to give the sanction of law. At Athens an insolvent debtor became slave to his creditor; and not himself only, but his wife and children also, if less would not answer the debt. Sometimes a debtor would sell his children to save himself. Power on one side and resources on the other, both so abhorrent to humanity, necessarily produced a violent irritation in the minds of the poor against the rich. But the oligarchical principle yet predominated in the Athenian constitution. The claims of birth were high: civil magistracy, religious office, military command, all remained, as they had been appointed by the laws of Theseus, the exclusive privilege of the eupatrids: almost the whole property of Attica was theirs; and it appears that the consequent oppression of the lower people was often severe. At

Aristot.
Polit.
l. 2. c. 12.

the same time the constitutional power of the people was great, weighty, and even overbearing, when they could be brought to anything approaching to unanimity in the exercise of it. In the contest of parties therefore it was the object of all to cultivate popularity.

While the struggles of faction were thus convulsing Athens, the Megarians found opportunity to retake Nisaea, and draw Salamis again to revolt. The opponents of Megacles then became clamorous about the sacrilege committed in the execution of the partizans of Cylon; insisting that it must be expiated, or greater misfortunes would follow from the wrath of the gods. Solon, it is said, had influence to persuade the accused peaceably to abide a trial, to which the administration of the republic was unable to compel them. They were condemned to exile; but the atonement was deemed insufficient to secure the commonwealth from the vengeance of the affronted deity, till the bones of those of the offenders who had died were also removed beyond the mountains.

The superstition, which others had used to raise disturbance in the state, Solon conceived now to be the powerful and advantageous engine by which a better order of things might be produced. For his kindness to the lower people, and the disposition he always showed to provide them legal protection, he was extensively popular. Nevertheless the eupatrids, fearful of utter overthrow, seem to have been willing to commit their interest to his direction. With their co-operation reports were circulated of phantoms seen, and various ominous circumstances observed, which portended the anger of the gods. The people were alarmed: the priests declared that expiations and purifications were necessary; but how the divine wrath might with certainty be averted they professed themselves at a loss to determine.

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V.

After various consultations a deputation was sent to Crete, inviting Epimenides, a philosopher of that island, of high reputation for skill in the divinity of the age, to take upon him, in this season of anxiety and terror, the superintendence of the religion of Athens. To this stranger, the supposed favorite of the gods, the people looked with expectation and awful suspense, while he directed the performance of sacrifices and processions, with increased pomp and new ceremonies. The dazzling splendor, and alluring but well-regulated festivity, which accompanied every act of devotion, engaged the public mind, checked the pursuits of faction, and led to the establishment of good order and sober conduct. According to Plutarch that scheme of improvement in the government and jurisprudence of the commonwealth, afterward executed by Solon, was at this time concerted with the Cretan philosopher; with whom Solon is said to have lived in intimate friendship, and to whose worth and abilities we have Plato's testimony in strong terms. At present Epimenides was the ostensible director of everything: but, excepting the new religious ceremonies, we find only one permanent regulation attributed to him: he restrained the usual excess of public mourning for deceased relations, which had often led to tumult; being conducted, after the manner of many barbarous nations, and of the provincial Irish to this day, with public and clamorous lamentation and weeping, in which the women bore a principal part. Internal quiet being thus restored to Athens, Epimenides took his leave. High honors and valuable presents were decreed to him by the state for his services. He refused all, and requested only a branch of the sacred olive-tree which grew in the acropolis, said to be the parent of its kind, and to have sprung from the ground at the command of

Plat.
de Leg.
l. 3. p. 677.Plut. Solon.
Herodot.
l. 8. c. 55.

the goddess Minerva. This being granted, he returned to Crete. When superior abilities have acquired influence to one man over the many, such ostentatious disinterestedness beyond all things confirms their power; and it is in times only when honorable poverty may be an object even of ambition to men of superior talents that great reformations in a state are to be expected.

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III.

But the disorders of Athens, having their foundation in a defective constitution, were but in small part removed, and for the rest merely lulled, by the measures of Epimenides. Each order of the state by itself had too much power; the authority of the two was not duly connected and blended; a moderator was wanting to hold the balance between them. The landed interest had considerable weight, but was itself divided. Among the proprietors of the mountainous tracts the democratical interest prevailed; the plain country was mostly the possession of the eupatrids, whose general aim was to establish an exclusive oligarchy; but many landowners of the coast, together with the mercantile men, averse to either extreme, were anxious for a mixed government. Hence Highlanders, Lowlanders, and Coastmen became the distinguishing names of three factions which long divided the Attic people. The contentions of these grew so threatening that, according to Plutarch, many sober men began to think that nothing less than the establishment of regal power, or, as it was then called, a tyranny, could prevent greater evils. Then the superior character of Solon drew the attention of all parties. He was obnoxious to none: not to the lower people, because, though possessing considerable property, he never oppressed any: not to the higher, because, though adverse to their private tyranny, he

Plutarch.
Solon.

- CHAP. favored their political power. His superior wisdom
 V. had been approved; his integrity was believed above
 all influence; and he was respected universally.
 Ol. 54. 3. Accordingly with general, or, it is said, unanimous
 B. C. consent, he was appointed archon, with peculiar
 562. N. powers for reforming the laws and constitution.
 Ol. 46. 3. B. C.
 594. B.

SECTION IV.

Reformation of the Athenian government and jurisprudence by Solon.

Barbarous ages are most favorable for legislation. History affords few instances of great improvement in the constitution of polished states. The means there can scarcely occur but through some violent convulsion, threatening subversion, confounding all establishments, and reducing things to the chaos of barbarism.⁹ The English constitution stands singular in the circumstance of its gradual improvement. But the materials of its foundation, derived from German forests, were arranged by the great Alfred in days of the deepest barbarism: and our jurisprudence, by the acknowledgment of our greatest lawyers, received more improvement in the early reigns of Henry the Second and Edward the First than in all the centuries since. The friends of Solon appear to have been aware of the greater difficulty of political reformation among an enlightened people, when, doubting the sufficiency of the authority given him to repress the effects of party, and curb the interfering ambition of powerful individuals, they offered to assist him in assuming

Plutarch.
Solon.

⁹ Since the first publication of this part of the history the extraordinary example has appeared in France.

royalty, and with a high hand moulding all things to his own pleasure. Solon was wise enough, for his own sake, to refuse that dangerous preeminence : and for the sake of his country to avoid attempting those fundamental changes for which he saw the season was past. Bold as well as virtuous, he had yet neither the daring nor the severe temper of the Spartan law-giver ; but each seems to have been born for his own age and country.

SECT.
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Like Lycurgus, Solon's first object, and what indeed the state of things at Athens most urgently demanded, was to remedy the evils produced by inequality of possessions ; to reconcile the rich with the poor, to relieve these without violently offending those. But Solon would obviate the abuse, not abolish the use of riches. Accounts differ concerning the particulars of his course. It seems nevertheless probable that he did not go to the extreme, reported by some authors, of annulling all debts ; but, giving some considerable advantage to the debtor by fixing a rate of interest, and making some alteration in the value of current money, he took from the creditor all power over the person of the debtor and his family. Such however was his able and fortunate course that the two parties were brought to join in admitting his arrangement.

This most difficult and dangerous business being settled, Solon proceeded to regulate the constitution of the commonwealth. We are told that Lycurgus being asked why he, who in other respects appeared so zealous for the equal rights of men, did not make his government democratical rather than oligarchical, ‘ Go you,’ the legislator answered, ‘ and try a democracy in your own house.’ Solon was not unaware of the evils inherent in that turbulent form of rule;

Plutarch.
Apoph.
Lacon.

CHAP.
V. and he proposed to obviate its inconveniences by the establishment of balancing powers. But the great resource of representation and delegated authority seen among the Greeks in earliest times in the council of Amphictyons, and afterward in national congresses, was however nowhere so arranged as to afford any very promising example. To the whole free population in assembly, where every free Athenian had his equal right to vote and speak, Solon committed absolute authority; a foundation of evil so broad that all the wisdom of his other regulations was weak against it.

It were however difficult, if not impossible, by the most accurate collection of what remains from various ancient authors, to ascertain what was at any time, in every particular, the form of government of Athens; nor are means transmitted for completely determining what was and what was not of the institution of Solon. The learned Archbishop Potter, and those who have followed him, with all their labors, leave us in the dark concerning some matters of considerable interest; for were it only on account of the esteem in which they were held by the Romans, who must have been impartial as well as otherwise most respectable judges, the institutions of Solon would be among the greatest objects of curiosity in all antiquity. Indeed they may be considered, in some degree, as the fountain of all the legislation and jurisprudence of Europe; being the acknowledged model of the Roman law, which has formed that of many of the European nations, and contributed considerable improvements to all, even to our own. In thus tracing modern jurisprudence upward, we arrive at a very remote source. Through Rome we pass to Athens, to Crete, to Egypt. But it is in the constitution and practice of Athens that a regular and scientific jurisprudence

first becomes known to us in any detail: and though SECTR.
IV. Athens probably gained much from Crete, first by Theseus, then by Epimenides, yet those improvements, that polish, which formed the peculiar merit of its constitution, have by the consent of all been attributed to Solon.

In the inquiry then what the Athenian constitution was, it will be first necessary to take a view of the COMPONENT MEMBERS of the Athenian commonwealth; because in these it differed so widely from everything in modern Europe that this alone suffices to cause a difference of character such as almost to deny comparison. The results of two polls of Plut. vit.
Peric.
Athen.
Deipnos.
l. 6. ATHENIAN CITIZENS remain reported to us; one taken in the time of Pericles, the other in that of Demetrius Phalereus. By the first they were found to be no more than fourteen thousand and forty persons; probably men above the age of thirty, before which they were not competent to be admitted on juries for the trial of causes. It should seem therefore that neither could they before that age regularly vote in the general assembly. What however the ordinance of Solon was, in regard to that very important matter, assurance fails; but it appears that the rule, whatever it may have been, was so shaken among the following irregular violences of popular power that no certain age was fixed for the exercise of that participation in imperial authority.¹⁰ At the second period the Athenian

¹⁰ However strange it may appear that such a point should have been left undetermined in the Athenian constitution, it seems authoritatively marked to have been so. Aristophanes, in his comedy of the Knights, introduces the people, represented by a single person with the name of Demus, saying in general terms, ‘I will not allow beardless youths to meddle with the ‘business of the agora.’ Clisthenes and Straton are then named

CHAP. V. citizens were twenty-one thousand ; and at the same time there were found resident in Attica ten thousand, FREEMEN of age to pay the capitation-tax, who had NOT the rights of Athenian citizens, being either foreigners, or of foreign extraction, or freed slaves, or descended from such ; all comprehended under the common name of METIC ; and the SLAVES in actual bondage, men, women, and children, were no less than four hundred thousand.

This proportion of slaves to freemen, in a commonwealth so boastful of liberty as its darling passion, may, in this age, appear astonishing, though, looking back to earlier history, it will not be difficult to account for either the origin, or this enormous increase of slavery in the progress of society. For savages can exist only where they are few in proportion to the territory they have to wander over. As numbers increase, agriculture becomes necessary to subsistence, and the savage state ends. Yet, while choice and change of soil are open, moderate labor suffices, in a favorable territory and climate, to maintain a family. But when every productive spot is occupied ; when necessity becomes the mother of art, and when arts advancing, wants increase ; when thus, in the progress of national prosperity those who cultivate the soil are only a small proportion of those to be fed by it, the

as very young men who had put themselves forward in public affairs ; and Demus proceeds, ‘ I will send such youths a-hunting, and will not permit them to be proposing laws.’* In Xenophon’s Memoirs of Socrates we find Glaucon, brother of Plato, of a noble, but not a wealthy or powerful family, attempting to speak in the assembly of the people before he was twenty years old ; and Plato represents Alcibiades proposing to assume the right of debating in the sovereign assembly at an equally premature age. Xen. Mem. Socr. l. 3. c. 6. Plat. Alcib. l.

* Aristoph. Equit. v. 1370.

degree of labor then wanting, from the numbers employed, to procure from the earth a cheap abundance of its most valuable and necessary productions, is so irksome that nothing less than constant practice from early years can make it tolerable. Few persons in easy circumstances readily conceive this. Living mostly in towns, they talk with ignorant envy of the healthy labors of the peasant. Those labors of the peasant, not generally adverse to health indeed, unfailingly bring on immature old age. The limbs early stiffen : they bear the accustomed labor, which no others can bear ; but they lose that general power of brisk exertion which we call activity. The internal frame at the same time wears ; and even the luxurious sometimes reach a length of days which the hard-laboring man never sees. When warlike people therefore, emerging from the savage state, first set about agriculture, the idea of sparing the lives of prisoners, on condition of their becoming useful to the conquerors by labor, was an obvious improvement upon the practice of former times, when conquered enemies were constantly put to death, not from a spirit of cruelty, but from necessity ; for the conquerors were unable to maintain them in captivity, and dared not set them free. SLAVERY thus established, it is easy to conceive how it would increase. In infant societies labor cannot be hired ; because all can employ themselves on their own concerns. Hence the necessity for slavery in our colonies. Tradition still in the age of Herodotus preserved memory of the time when slavery was unknown in Greece ; but before Homer, as we have seen, slaves were numerous. Throughout Greece the slave-trade became as regular a branch of commerce as now in the West Indies : Athens had its slave market. But hired labor, which

Herodot.
I. 6. c. 137.

CHAP. V. formerly could not be had, then became little desirable. The poor therefore, to subsist, must either emigrate, or become voluntary slaves, like the indented servants of America; which, we are told, was not uncommon. The great superiority in number of slaves to freemen at Athens, with these considerations, will not appear wonderful. The disproportion was greater at Lacedæmon, and scarcely inferior over Greece:¹¹ though it was probably not so great in the age of Solon as it was become in that of Demetrius Phalereus.

From this view of things then it appears that DEMOCRACY was a mode of government not so absolutely absurd and impracticable among the Greeks as it would be where no slavery is. For though in democracies the supreme power was nominally vested in all the people, yet those called the people, who exclusively shared that power, were scarcely a tenth part of the men of the state. The people moreover were almost all in circumstances to have received some education, and to subsist by easier means than those which, through constant labor of the body, disable the mind for liberal exertion. It was held by the Grecian politicians as a self-evident proposition, that those who are to share in government should have the means of living independently in leisure; and the only question was, how, in a democracy, those means should be secured to a whole people.¹² Slavery

¹¹ Thucydides says the proportion of slaves was nowhere greater than in Chios, except in Laconia. 1. 8. c. 40.

¹² "Οτι μὲν οὖν δεῖ, τῇ μελλούσῃ καλῶς πολιτεύεσθαι, τὴν τῶν ἀναγκαίων ὑπάρχειν σχολὴν, ὁμολογούμενόν ἐστι. Τίνα δὲ τρόπον ὑπάρχειν οὐ ράδιον λαβεῖν. Aristot. Polit. 1. 2. c. 9. And to the same purpose nearly Plato: Τὰ μὲν οὖν πολλὰ οὔτε νοῆσαι χαλεπὸν, οὔτε κτίσασθαι τὰ δὲ δὴ τῶν οἰκετῶν, χαλεπὰ πάντα. De Leg. 1. 6. p. 776.

however was absolutely necessary; and hence, though it was disputed by some philosophers, yet Aristotle has held that slavery is natural among mankind. The same great author supposes a commonwealth consisting of thirteen hundred families; of which one thousand should be rich, and three hundred poor. Anciently in Colophon, he adds, most of the citizens had large property. The proportion of slaves must of course be great. In Lacedæmon, as we have seen, the constitution required that every freeman should be strictly a gentleman; and in the rest of Greece scarcely any were so low as our laborers and handcraftsmen. At Athens the meat distributed at sacrifices, and the pay for attendance on public business, went far to support the poor. Thus the greatest part of the people were enabled to live with little bodily labor, and encouraged to application of the mind.

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Aristot.
Polit. I. 1.
c. 5. & 6.

I. 4. c. 4.

But SOVEREIGN Power being thus vested in the GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE PEOPLE, it was of great consequence to ascertain who were ATHENIAN PEOPLE, legally entitled to that high privilege, and to provide effectually for the exclusion of those who were not so. Attica had been divided in very early times, it is said by Cecrops, in a manner very nearly analogous to that of our own country by the great Alfred into shires, hundreds, and tithings. The divisions of Attica, in the course of ages, underwent changes both of name and effect; and two of the three seem to have remained of principal use, the Phyle and the Demus, Tribe and Borough, as archbishop Potter terms them; but Dryden translates the former word literally, and more properly, by the old English term, Ward.¹³ The wards, from Cecrops

¹³ This word is still retained in a sense exactly analogous to

CHAP. till about fifty years after Solon, were only four. A new division was then made of the country and people into ten wards; and the boroughs were a hundred and seventy-four. Each ward or phyle had its presiding magistrate, called Phylarchus or Epimeletes Phyles, analogous to our sheriff; and each borough or demus its demarchus, analogous to our constable or headborough. It is remarkable that as the title of King, Basileus, was scrupulously preserved to the highpriest, or person presiding over the religious concerns of the Attic nation, so the president of the religious concerns of each ward was entitled Phylobasileus, King of the Ward; and he was always appointed from among the nobly born, the eupatrids. Every child, born to the privileges of an Athenian, was carefully registered soon after birth. Youths were inscribed in a second register at eighteen, when they were reckoned among the Ephebi, and became liable to military duties within Attica. At twenty, being esteemed men, they were introduced at a public meeting of their demus, and were registered a third time.

If democracy was a form of government desirable for any people that ever existed, the Lacedæmonians must have been above all others competent for it: yet Lycurgus deemed it unfit even for those among whom was no difference of rank, or riches, or education, but who were all equally, and with assiduous attention, bred for the business of the commonwealth only, and to all of whom equally he meant to secure the most perfect freedom of which mankind in society is capable. Solon therefore, more yielding to the temper of the times, and the difficulty of circum-

the Attic, for the primary divisions of the city of London, and
of the county of Northumberland.

stances, than pursuing what himself thought best, SECT.
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having confirmed to the Assembly of the People an authority more universally and uncontrollably absolute than any despot upon earth ever did or ever can possess, his great concern was to establish some balancing power, capable in some degree of obviating the evils which a sovereign multitude is ever ready to bring upon itself. Theseus, as we have seen, had divided the Attic people into three ranks, or perhaps rather into two ranks, though there were three classes; and by his law those of the first rank were alone competent for magistracy of any kind. Various changes appear to have been made after him, as it suited the interest of leaders of prevailing factions to enlarge or to abridge the privileges of the lower orders; and, when Solon undertook the legislation, contradictory precedents had been so numerous as nearly to have overthrown all rule. That lawgiver made a new division of the people into FOUR RANKS, determined merely by the value of every man's possessions. The first rank consisted of those whose lands produced yearly, in corn, wine, oil, any commodity, dry or liquid, five hundred of the Attic measure called Medimnus; whence they had the title of Pentacosiomediennians. The second rank was composed of persons whose lands yielded at least three hundred measures. These, as well as the first rank, were exempt from service in the infantry and on shipboard, except in some command; but they were bound to keep a horse for the public; and, within the age for military service, to serve personally in the cavalry. Hence they had the title of Hippes, Horsemen, or, as our writers often translate it, by our ancient term for a horse-soldier, Knights. The third rank, called Zeugites, were of persons whose lands

CHAP. produced two hundred measures, but less than three hundred. These, being deemed of estate insufficient to be required to keep a horse for public service, were bound to serve in the infantry among the heavy-armed, and to be provided with complete arms for the purpose. The rest of the citizens, not possessed of lands producing two hundred measures, were comprehended under the name of Thetes. These also, like the rest, were bound to military service. If provided with sufficient armour, they might increase the force of the heavy-armed: if not so provided, they were reduced to the less honorable service of the light-armed. But when Athens became a maritime power, the Thetes principally manned the fleet; in that service they might be esteemed perhaps superior to what was contemptuously called the crowd of light-armed infantry, but the mere seaman was never reckoned equal in rank with the heavy-armed soldier.

Inquiry were vain what, according to the relative value of money and commodities in our own age and country, was the value of an Attic estate, in the age of Solon, estimated by so uncertain a medium as hundreds of measures of any produce of the earth, dry or liquid. Arbuthnot, in his diligent researches on the subject, seems to have been unable to satisfy himself for any era of the Athenian commonwealth. But in a country like Attica, almost without meadows, little fruitful in corn, and, in Solon's age, little commercial, horse-keeping would be very expensive. The lawgiver therefore, in excusing the possessors of estates yielding less than three hundred measures annually from keeping a horse for public service, judged nevertheless that an estate of two hundred would put the owner so far at his ease that he might be competent, not only to serve in the heavy infantry

without pay, (distant service being wholly out of his view,) but also to execute offices of magistracy for which no salary was allowed. The Athenian magistracies accordingly were, by his constitution, to be filled from the first three ranks of citizens. The appointment he committed to election, to the right of which he admitted the fourth in common with the others. The fourth also was admitted on juries who decided causes in the courts of justice, and to the fourth he allowed the equal vote of every Freeman in the sovereign Assembly of the People. This sufficed in the end to put unlimited power into the hands of those least capable of properly exercising any power; for the fourth rank, being more numerous than all the others, when united would of course be omnipotent, and might overthrow Solon's barriers, and alter the constitution, as afterward they did, to their own pleasure and their own ruin.¹⁴

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Aristot.
Polit.
I. 2. c. 12.

Nevertheless, pursuing his view of forming a balance against the indiscretion of the multitude, Solon instituted a new COUNCIL or SENATE, consisting of one hundred persons chosen out of each of the four wards which composed the Attic people. This council however becomes more known to us after the increase of the number of wards to ten; when fifty counsellors were appointed out of each, making the whole number five hundred. Its common title was THE COUNCIL; but for distinction it was called the Council of Five Hundred, or sometimes simply THE FIVE HUNDRED. The members were appointed annually by lot, from among those of the Athenian people, legally

¹⁴ It will be but justice to the character of Solon to observe, that better political principles were not discovered so late as the age of Isocrates. See his Areop. p. 112. v. 2. Δεῖ τὸν μὲν δῆμον, κ. τ. λ.

CHAP. V. qualified for the dignity, who were desirous of obtaining it. But previously to their admission they were to undergo, before the existing counsel, a strict inquiry concerning their past life, which was termed *Dokimasia*; when, if anything could be proved prejudicial to their character, they were to be rejected. The counsellors of each tribe in turn, for the space of thirty-five days, had superior dignity and additional powers, with the title of *PRYTANES*; and from them the council-hall was called *PRYTANEUM*. The *Prytanes* were in turn Presidents of the council; and each held that high office only one day; during which he had the custody of the public seal, of the keys of the treasury, and of the keys of the citadel. The whole assembly formed the Council of State of the Commonwealth, having constant charge of its political concerns. It was moreover a particular and very important function of this council to prepare business for the Assembly of the People; in which, according to Solon's constitution, nothing was to be proposed which had not first been approved here. Such an assembly, he hoped, would have an authority which the college of Archons had been unable to maintain. But the powers which he had ratified to the assembly of the people at large were too preponderant for any certain restraint. Whenever, at the instigation of a factious demagogue, it desired more, it might demand and take.

Aware how much the business of all is liable to be reckoned the business of none, Solon, having given sovereign power to the people, would not leave it to their choice to neglect its duties. Upon this principle rests that singular, but surely wise ordinance, That those should be held criminal who took no part in civil commotions. For as it is notoriously the

honester men who are generally most disposed to be quiet on such occasions, nothing seems so likely to secure the constitution as compelling all men to interfere. For the same reason the legislator provided means to enforce the attendance of the people at the general assemblies. Four were regularly to be held during the presidency of each prytania, which, as we have seen, was for a term of thirty-five days; and each of these assemblies had its stated business. That of the first was principally to approve or reject magistrates, to receive accusations of public offences presented by the Thesmothete Archons, and to hear the catalogue of fines and confiscations for public service. The second enacted laws and received petitions relative either to the public or to private persons. The peculiar business of the third was to give audience to the ministers of foreign powers. The concerns of religion were the sole object of the fourth. Often the business of those assemblies would be little interesting to the people in general; yet great inconvenience might follow from want of due attendance. When therefore the people were remiss, which seems to have been common, the magistrates shut all the city-gates except one, by which the people were permitted to pass only toward the assembly: they caused all vendibles to be removed from the markets; and they sent about their attendants holding an extended cord, prepared with a dye for the purpose, with which they marked all they overtook, and those so marked were fined. All who attended in due time received a small pay from the treasury. To keep order in so large a meeting, nine Proedri, Foremen, were appointed by lot from the council; one from each of those tribes which were not at the time prytanes. From these nine the Epistates, Chairman,

CHAP. Speaker; or President of the assembly, was appointed by lot. With them sat the Nomophylaces, from their number called the Eleven, whose peculiar duty it was to be watchful over the laws, and to explain to the people the tendency of any proposals contrary to the spirit of the constitution. The Eleven had also the charge of persons imprisoned for crimes. The Prytanes had distinct powers in the assembly, which were considerable.

The members of the Grecian democracies, sensible, from frequent experience, of the uncertain power of reason over a multitude, and of the evils liable to arise from the fluctuating and inflammable nature of popular passion, devised or admitted various precautions to prevent the multitude from being led to acts to their own prejudice. It was ordained by the celebrated lawgiver Charondas, that whosoever would propose to abrogate an old law, or enact a new one, should come into the assembly with a halter about his neck; and death was to follow if his proposal was rejected. Solon was not so rigid. Aware that regulations the best adapted to the circumstances of the commonwealth at one time might not equally suit those of another, he enjoined an annual revisal of the laws. If the assembly of the people declared alteration in any point necessary, a committee was to be appointed, in later times consisting of no less than a thousand persons, who, with the title of Nomothetes, were directed to consider of the alteration proper to be made. The new law being prepared by this numerous committee, five officers, called Syndics, were to defend the old before the assembly; which then decided between the two. In any other manner than this it was hazardous to propose a new law at Athens. A law passed by the assembly without

Diod. Sic.
l. 12. c. 17.

having been previously published as the constitution required, a law conceived in ambiguous or fallacious terms, a law contrary to any former law, subjected the proposer to penalties. It was therefore usual to repeal the old law before a contrary new one was proposed; and the delay thus occasioned was an additional security to the constitution.

The regular manner of ENACTING a LAW at Athens was thus: It was the office of the council to give legal form to the proposed matter: but any Athenian, having anything to offer for public consideration, might address it to the Prytanes; whose duty it was to receive all petitions and information, and transmit them to the council. Matter approved there, being digested, became a Probouleuma, analogous to our parliamentary bill prepared by a committee. Written then on a tablet, it was exposed during several days for public perusal and consideration. At the next assembly it was read to the people, and then proclamation was made by the public crier thus: ‘Who of those above fifty years old chooses to ‘speak?’ These, if any were so disposed, having delivered their orations, the crier again proclaimed, ‘Any Athenian, not disqualified by law, may speak.’ The circumstances absolutely disqualifying were, flight in battle, deep debt to the commonwealth, and conviction of any flagitious crime. But the Prytanes had the privilege to enjoin silence to any man at discretion; a privilege which however would only be exercised under pleasure of the assembly. The debates being ended, the crier, at the command of the Foremen, signified to the people that the business waited their determination. Suffrages were then given by holding up hands. This was the ordinary manner of voting: but in some extraordinary cases, par-

CHAP. V. ticularly when the question related to the mal-administration of magistrates, votes were given privately by casting pebbles into vessels prepared by the Prytanes. The Foremen examined the suffrages, and declared the majority: the Prytanes dismissed the assembly.

We see in the conduct of this business numerous precautions, wisely taken, to ensure regularity, and to prevent sinister management, in a form of government so intrinsically disposed to irregularity, and open to the arts of designing men. But Solon hoped to provide a farther and powerful weight in the balance against the uncertainty and turbulence of democratical rule by the restoration of the court of AREOPAGUS. We have no account of the origin of this celebrated court, the fame of which the partiality of after-times has carried far into the fabulous ages.¹⁵ The institutions of Draco had nearly abolished its authority and superseded its use. Solon restored its consequence, improved its regulations, and augmented its powers. How its members were before appointed we are not informed. By his institutions it was composed of those who had executed the office of archon with credit; all of whom, having passed the Euthyne, or scrutiny concerning their conduct in that high

¹⁵ Archbishop Potter apologizes, seemingly unnecessarily, for differing from such respectable authors as Cicero and Plutarch, who call Solon the founder of the court of Areopagus. It is not probable that Cicero and Plutarch meant to deny the existence of the court of Areopagus before Solon; but they call him justly the founder of that court, such as it was in the florishing times of the Athenian commonwealth. Aristotle mentions its earlier existence,* and Demosthenes professes his ignorance of its origin,† of which he scarcely could have been ignorant had it not been older than Solon.

* Aristot. Polit. I. 2. c. 12.

† Orat. in Aristocratem.

office, were admitted members of the Areopagus. This seems to have been the only dignity of the Athenian government conferred for a longer term than one year : the Areopagites were for life.

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The power of the court of Areopagus was very great. It is said to have been the first that ever decided upon life and death ; in early times in Greece, as throughout western Europe, public justice proceeding no farther against the most atrocious criminals than the exaction of a fine. Capital offences among the Athenians were cognizable, for the most part, by this court only. It was the only court from which was constitutionally no appeal to the assembly of the people. It had authority to stop the effect of the judicial decrees of the assembly of the people itself ; to annul an acquittal, or extend mercy to the condemned. It directed all issues from the public treasury. It had great power as a censorial court, punishing impiety, immorality, and all disorderly conduct ; not merely when accusations were brought, but it was the duty of the Areopagites to watch the behaviour of the citizens. Thus it appears to have afforded example for the censorship at Rome. Idleness was a crime of which the Areopagus was to take cognizance ; and it was required that every citizen should annually account to it for his means of livelihood : an institution said to be derived from Egypt. A general superintendence over the youth of the republic was among the duties of this court : it was to provide that all should be educated suitably to their rank and fortune. For judicial business this court sat only in the night, and without light, that the members, it is said, might be the less liable to prejudice for or against accused persons. For the same reason it was a rule that pleaders should confine them-

Herodot.
l. 2. c. 177.

CHAP. V. selves to simple narration of fact, and statement of the law, without any ornament of speech, or any attempt to warp the judgment by appealing to the passions of the judges. The reputation of the court of Areopagus for wisdom and strict justice, and very remarkably for the respectable characters of its members, was long very high.¹⁶

The Athenian constitution, for so small a state, was very complex. Beside the General Assembly, and the Areopagus, there were no less than TEN COURTS OF JUDICATURE in Athens; four for criminal causes, and six for civil. In the establishment of these it was that Solon most eminently displayed both his honest zeal for the equal liberties of men, and his ability, as a legislator, to devise the most effectual means for securing them: here we see principally exemplified the idea expressed in his celebrated answer reported among the sayings of the seven wise

¹⁶ Xen. Mem. Socr. l. 3. c. 5. s. 20. The learned dean Humphrey Prideaux* has summed up the principal testimonies to the great authority and high reputation of the court of Areopagus in the following words: among which the concluding hyperbole of the great Tully is remarkable: ‘Areopagit a ‘Solone commissa est legum custodia.† Sæpe igitur injustitiae ‘et temeritati populi restitisse, sæpe eorum decreta rescidisse, ‘memorantur; et sine eorum approbatione nihil omnino majoris ‘momenti Athenis, ante deminutam eorum per Ephialtem auc-‘toritatem, de republicâ unquam decernebatur.‡ Totam igitur, ‘ut paucis dicam, regebant rempublicam.§ Tamque necessarium ‘ad illam recte instituendam eorum semper videbatur consilium, ‘ut de illis dicat Cicero, Atheniensium rempublicam non magis ‘posse sine Areopagi consilio, quam mundum sine providentiâ ‘Dei, administrari.’||

* In. Marm. I. Oxon. p. 351.

† Plutarch. in Solon. et Andocides in Orat. de Mysteriis.

‡ Demosthen. in or. con. Androtionem.

§ Suidas in voc. *Ἀρείος πάγος*, & Lysias in or. de probatione Evandri.

|| M. T. Cic. de Nat. Deor. l. 1. c. 2.

men : ‘ That is in my opinion,’ said Solon, ‘ the most perfect government where an injury to any one is the concern of all.’ Before that lawgiver the archons were, in most causes, supreme and sole judges. Solon directed that, in the ten courts just mentioned, causes should be decided by a body of men, like our juries, taken for the purpose from among the people ; the archons only presiding in the manner of our judges, and, as circumstances required, carrying the business through the steps necessary to prepare for the determination of a jury, as in our courts of Westminster-hall. But the archons being appointed by lot, and consequently often very insufficient for such business, it was usual for each to choose two persons of experience to assist him in his office. These, in time, became regular constitutional officers by the name of Paredri, assessors ; undergoing the same probation as the archons themselves before entering on their office, and the same scrutiny at its conclusion. The manner of appointing the jurors was thus : A small pay from the treasury induced those who had leisure to offer themselves. Any Athenian, above thirty years of age, and not under any legal disqualification, delivered his name and legal description to the thesmothete archons : and these assigned the jurors to the different courts by lot. This is that department in the machine of government which ought to belong to the people at large. It is that for which they are most competent ; and the security of property and equal liberty requires that they should alone possess it.

To save the inhabitants of the country from the inconvenient necessity of going to Athens for justice in cases of inferior consequence, itinerant judges,

CHAP. V. called the Forty, were appointed to go through the boroughs, with power to determine actions of assault, and controversies of property under a certain value.¹⁷

In all the Grecian republics every freeman was bound to MILITARY SERVICE. The abundance of slaves in them all made this both practicable and necessary, which in countries without slaves would be neither. The slaves by their labor supported the freemen in arms; and the practice of arms was indispensable for every freeman, were it only to preserve that ascendancy over the very superior number of the slaves, without which property, freedom, and life itself, would be utterly insecure. No Grecian town therefore was without its gymnasium, or public school of bodily exercise. Every free Athenian, at the age of eighteen, was enrolled among the military. His duty, for the first two years, was confined within the bounds of Attica. The city-guard of Athens was chiefly of youths under twenty. After that age till forty he was legally compellable to any foreign service required by the affairs of the commonwealth. Rank and property made no other distinction than giving the privilege to serve on horseback; which was at the same time a privilege and a burthen; for in the Athenian, and some other of the more powerful

¹⁷ This account of the Athenian constitution has been taken almost entirely from Archbishop Potter's Grecian Antiquities. Those who are desirous of investigating the subject more deeply will of course consult that valuable work, and the numerous authorities there quoted. Petit's collection of Attic Laws, with his diffuse comment on them, may perhaps then attract their attention. The Archbishop's work is so extensively in use that I have thought it needless to repeat the authorities.

commonwealths, every man of competent property was bound to provide and maintain a horse for public service.¹⁸

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The Greeks made a great distinction between the heavy and the light-armed foot; the former termed Hoplite, the other Psilus. The Hoplite wore that nearly complete armour, described in treating of the Homeric age: he carried a large shield, and his principal weapon was a long spear. The full set of his arms, defensive and offensive, was called the Panoply. The usual formation of this heavy foot was in a large compact body, termed phalanx, in which the files were seldom of fewer than eight men. The Psilus, on the contrary, had very imperfect defensive armour; he carried missile weapons, and no shield. He was therefore incapable of engaging in close fight with the Hoplite. Free citizens only were allowed to serve in the heavy foot; and in some of the oligarchical states only those of higher rank, or possessing a qualification in property. The light-armed were chiefly slaves, who waited upon the Hoplites, and who alone generally did all duties of mere fatigue. They were esteemed, as soldiers, so inferior to the heavy foot that it was usual, in reporting the numbers of Grecian armies, to reckon the heavy foot only, though commonly attended by at least an equal number of light-armed. Upon one great occasion we read of a Lacedæmonian army in which no less than seven

Chap. 2.
sect. 3. of
this Hist.

Herodot.
l. 9. c. 11.

¹⁸ The Roman law was similar, and the near conformity of the old English to the Athenian is remarkable. By the statute of the 13th of Edward I. which professes not to enact novelties, but merely to enforce the old law, all natives between fifteen years and forty were to have arms, at least a sword and a battleaxe, and those who had fifteen pounds a year in land, or forty marks in goods, were not to be without a horseman's arms.

CHAP. slaves, all doing duty as light-armed soldiers, attended
V. upon every Spartan Hoplite. The Lacedæmonians, and in general the Peloponnesians, would serve only as heavy foot in close fight; and in this the Thebans agreed with them; but the Athenians attributed more value to the use of missile weapons. We find bowmen, and particularly Athenian bowmen, always mentioned by Thucydides as a valuable species of troops, whose numbers he specifies upon all occasions with no less care than those of the heavy-armed; and he never confounds them with what he sometimes calls contemptuously the crowd of light-armed, as a body of men not less inferior in discipline than in arms. Different from all these was the Middle-armed, who, from the small shield or target which he bore, distinguished from the large shield of the heavy-armed by the name of Pelta, was denominated Peltast, Tar-
geteer. We find these mostly among the colonies, and in those small or poor democratical states which were unable to provide the expensive armour of the Hoplite, especially those in the mountainous parts of northern Greece.

Greece is in so large proportion mountainous, and thence unfit both for the breeding of horses and the action of cavalry, that many states, though powerful in infantry, had in early times no cavalry. But the Thessalians were almost universally horsemen; and similar circumstances led the Bœotians to cultivate the horse-service. Of the cavalry of Athens occasion will occur to speak hereafter, but of that of the time of Solon we are little informed.

Democratical jealousy occasioned at Athens a very inconvenient system of Military Command. What were the military institutions of Solon it were desirable to know, because he was himself a military

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man of large experience. Probably when he lessened the civil power of the college of archons the military authority of the Polemarch was also abridged; for in the end we find that officer merely a civil magistrate, having peculiar jurisdiction over the Metics, those numerous free inhabitants of Attica who were not Athenian citizens. When after Solon's time the Athenian wards were increased to ten, every ward elected its own military commander. Ten generals, therefore, with equal rank, commanded the forces of the Athenian commonwealth. All were not sent together on foreign expeditions: but at home generally each commanded his day in turn, the ten forming a council of war to decide on emergencies. The inconveniences of this system were often felt; and it became consequently usual, on important occasions, by a particular decree of the people, to commit the command in chief to one person. But the appointment of ten generals from the ten tribes, with equal authority, remained always the established system of Athens.

The composition of Grecian armies, and the subordination of command in them, appear to have been generally very regular: but in little particulars they differed so much in different ages, and in different republics in the same age, that it seems impossible now to ascertain what was at any time the exact formation of the Athenian phalanx, or indeed of that of any other republic, except the Spartan, of which the account already given may serve to convey some general idea of the Grecian system. The Athenian seems to have differed from it more in names than in things. The Taxis of the Athenian service, like the Lochus of the Lacedæmonian, was analogous to our battalion, and the rank of the Taxiarch, its com-

Chap. 4.
sect. 2. of
this Hist.

CHAP. mander, as of the Lochage, was nearly that of our
v. colonel. Taxis generally meant a battalion of foot,
 but it was also used for a squadron of horse. The
 troop of horse was called Ille. The Athenian Stratego,
 like the Lacedæmonian Polemarch, was the general
 officer. The commander of a fleet was called Navarch,
 the commander of a trireme Trierarch, but it is ob-
 servable that the Taxiarch had rank superior to the
 Trierarch. The distinguishing characteristic of the
 Spartan discipline seems to have been that it was more
 perfect, the divisions more numerous and better gra-
 duated, the detail more regular, the subordination
 more exact.¹⁹

Xen. Hell.
l. 1. c. 6.
s. 21.

¹⁹ Guischardt, the ablest modern interpreter of the ancient military writers, has the following remarks in a note to his translation of Arrian's Tactics; * ‘Je doute si les interpretes et les traducteurs entendent les manœuvres que Xenophon décrit, et celles qu'il détaille, dans le troisième livre (of the Anabasis) quand il parle des dispositions qu'on fit pour la marche des troupes. La tactique de Thucydide et de Xenophon est différente de celle du temps d'Alexandre le grand. Les termes qui désignoient les corps n'étoient plus les mêmes, et il y eut une autre disposition de sections. Faut d'y donner attention on ne peut que s'embrouiller.’ It may be proper to add here the observation that the term *λόχος*, which with the Lacedæmonians signified a body of men composed of many files, (according to Thucydides generally of sixty-four,) † among the later Greeks was synonymous with *στάχυς*, and was the more common word of the two to express simply a file. ‡ Accordingly the term *λοχαγὸς*, which with the Lacedæmonians was the title of an officer of considerable rank, whose command was of above five hundred men, with the later Greeks meant no more than the file-leader, a common soldier. The term *ενωμοτία*, originally peculiar to the Lacedæmonians, and signifying a body, generally of thirty-two men, formed in four files, was also adopted by the later Greeks to signify a division of their *λόχος* or file, perhaps

* P. 119. note q. † Thucyd. l. 5. c. 68.

‡ Arrian. Tact. p. 18. and 20. ed. Amstel. & Lips. 1750.

SECTION V.

History of Athens from the legislation of Solon to the expulsion of the Pisistratidæ, and the first public transaction with Persia.

Among the imperfect historical memorials of Solon's age a very important matter is authenticated, without any connecting circumstances, or any indication of times or concomitant events. Under his guidance the Athenian republic had already acquired a superior steadiness of administration at home, and thence respect among neighbouring states, when alarm arose extensively in Greece for the temple and treasury of Delphi. The oracle there had at this time its highest fame; and the sanctity attributed to the place had its highest estimation. Thence, in the insecurity of property of every kind, but especially of hoards of the precious metals, its treasury came into use as a depository for them, for which the priests willingly undertook to warrant the safety. Thus an extensive interest in its security arose throughout Greece. Doubt, and suspicion, and jealousy concerning that

commonly of not more than four men.* Xenophon also seems to use the word *λόχος* for a file.† Yet Euripides gives the title of *Λοχαγὸς* to the seven chiefs before Thebes, and of *Λόχος* to the division which each commanded, and also to the opposing divisions of the Theban army. Phoeniss. v. 124. 150. 759. 760. and 1157. But Xenophon too, in his Anabasis, uses the terms *Λόχος* and *Λοχαγὸς* in the Lacedæmonian sense, or nearly so. The *Λοχαγοὶ* were next in rank to the *Στρατηγοὶ*, generals. The force of the *λόχος*, in an army so irregularly composed, might indeed differ greatly. We find in one place a hundred,‡ and in another only fifty§ men mentioned as actually composing the *Lochus*, but without assurance that those numbers were the complement.

* Arrian. ibid. p. 20.

† Cyrop. I. 4.

Anab. I. 4. c. 8. s. 13.

§ L. 1. c. 2. s. 25.

CHAP. ^{V.} treasury, concerning its management by those to whom it was confided, and concerning the views of others, in surrounding little ill-regulated states, upon it, would be in the course of things to be expected. The immediate occasion of a war ensuing, called by historians the first Sacred War, is not indicated. What remains related is, that the Phocians, in whose country Delphi stood, took arms; that the Amphictyons proclaimed a sacred war against them; that the Athenian government took part with the Amphictyons, and that Solon was appointed general of the army of the god; that he was successful, and that for the ability, the impartiality, and the integrity exhibited in his conduct, and the beneficial tendency of the regulations he established, he gained great credit throughout Greece.

Nevertheless Solon, with all the wisdom of his institutions, and all his popularity, could not prevent new ebullition of faction in Athens. Each party objected to that among his institutions which obviated its purpose of acquiring superiority. The legislator himself, mild, and candid, and impartial, was free of access to all; and confident both in the goodness of his cause, and in his own powers of argument and *Plut. Solon.* persuasion, he encouraged conversation upon his institutions and discussion of their merit; always professing willingness to alter whatsoever could be clearly proved capable of amendment.

But the power, which Solon would not assume, others would contend for. The parties of the Highlands, the Lowlands, and the Coast were still maintained, and leading men were sedulous to cultivate an interest in them severally. What one party then approved in Solon's laws, the others of course would desire amended; and what these would be most sa-

tisfied with, the former would be most eager to alter. Himself thus involved in difficulties, and his great work of legislation in much danger, he assembled the sovereign people. ‘ What he had done,’ he said, ‘ he found generally approved, but on particular parts different opinions prevailed. For himself, though possibly improvement might be made, he could not immediately satisfy his own mind what the alteration should be. He would therefore travel into the countries most known for the excellence of their constitution and laws, and, after careful examination and inquiry among other states, he might be better able to satisfy both himself and them. One thing however he would request, that till he returned they should alter nothing.’ Such, it is said, was the general estimation of him, and such the address with which he put this proposition, that the people bound themselves by solemn oath to change nothing of his institutions for ten years. This done, he left Athens.

Herodot.
I. 1. c. 29.
Proclus in
Timæum,
l. 1.

The success of Solon’s expedient seems to have been as great as himself could probably expect. He would hardly hope that, when he was gone, the struggle of parties contending for the first situations under his constitution would be remitted. The three parties of the Lowlands, the Highlands, and the Coast each supported an eminent leader. Lycurgus, son of Aristolaides, was at the head of the party of the Lowlands; Megacles, chief of the great family of the Alcmæonidæ, took the lead of the Coast party. He had increased the ancient wealth and splendor of his house by marrying Agariste, daughter and heiress of Clisthenes tyrant of Sicyon; he had acquired fame by victories in the Olympian, Pythian, and Isthmian games; and, through these circumstances, added to his former advantages, he was esteemed by much the

Herodot.
I. 1. c. 59.
&
Pindar.
Pyth. 7.
1. 6. c. 126.
& seq.

Herodot.
l. 5. c. 65.

l. 1. c. 59.

most powerful individual in Athens. Meanwhile, a young man of a very ancient and honorable family, claiming descent from Codrus, and through him tracing their pedigree to Nestor and the Pylian kings of that very early age where Homer first takes up history, Pisistratus had begun to distinguish himself by his eloquence and his military talents: for wars had arisen with neighbouring states, and he had gained reputation, especially in taking Nisaea, the seaport of the Megarians. Recommended besides by manners singularly engaging, he excelled all in popularity, whence he seems to have been induced to take the lead readily deferred to him by the Highlanders, whose party was that of the purest democracy. The three parties which divided the Athenian people had thus all, for their leaders, men of the highest rank among the eupatrids or old nobility.

Plutarch.
et Diog.
Laert. vit.
Solon.

Solon, it is said, remained ten years abroad. Of the circumstances of his travels nothing remains reported but his interview with Crœsus king of Lydia, who was accustomed to receive Greeks, and received Solon with distinction. Nor have we any satisfactory information of his measures on his return. It only appears that the ferment of factions was so violent, the leaders so intent each upon his own power, and their followers so wedded to the interests of their several parties, that he could not still the storm and bring jarring minds to union. Matters were thus at a crisis when Pisistratus came into the Agora in his chariot, himself and his mules wounded. The people assembling about him, he told them ‘that, as ‘he was going into the country, he was waylaid by ‘his political opponents, and with difficulty had ‘escaped them, wounded, as might be seen. Hence ‘they might judge whether it could be safe for any

Herodot.
l. 1. c. 59.
Plut. vit.
Solon.
Justin.

l. 2. c. 8.

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' man any longer to be a friend to the poor. It was obvious that he could no longer live in Attica unless they would take him under that protection which he implored.' Immediately Ariston, one of his partizans, proposed to decree to the friend of the people, the martyr of their cause, a guard of fifty men for the security of his person. Such a measure was apparently not new; for we shall find, in the sequel, other instances of it among the Grecian democracies. The popularity of Pisistratus, and the indignation excited by the visible marks of ill-treatment which he bore, procured assent to the motion of Ariston, and a decree of the sovereign crowd passed accordingly. The enemies of his family afterward asserted that the story was an imposture, and that the wounds were made by himself to support it. But, gathering as we best may from remaining evidence, it seems at least equally probable that the attempt upon his life was real. Indeed the conjecture appears warranted by the very accounts which speak of it as fictitious. For those accounts testify that the belief of a real attempt to assassinate Pisistratus prevailed at Athens for a considerable time: we are not informed how the fraud was detected; and had there ever been any detection of such gross knavery, it must have gone far to ruin his credit, which, during his life, certainly never was ruined. But an actual attempt of such a kind could not fail to increase, if not the extent of his popularity, at least the zeal of his party; and thus the decree for guards might be obtained, in a manner more consistent with the forms of the Athenian constitution, and with probability, than the defective accounts of ancient historians appear to imply. On this point however we can only choose our belief in the dark. What stands ascertained is, that Pisistratus with his guards

CHAP. V. seized the citadel; that his party supported him; and that their opponents were forced, part into exile, the rest to submission. Pisistratus, as leader of the prevailing party, was of course the first man of the commonwealth, and thenceforward he has had among historians the title of tyrant of Athens.

**Corn. Nep.
vit. Miltiad.**

The import of the term Tyrant, among the Greeks, differed greatly from what it bears in modern languages. Not limited, as in these, to express an atrocious character, it meant generally a citizen of a republic who by any means, whether legal and generally allowed, or otherwise, acquired sovereignty over his fellow-citizens, or the sole direction of the executive government. History has recorded Grecian Tyrants as men of extraordinary virtue, who used their power in strict conformity to established law, and very advantageously for the people they governed.

Some were raised to the dignity of Tyrant by a voluntary decree of the people themselves; Tynnondas

**Plut. vit.
Solon.**
**Vid. et
Arist. Polit.
l. 3. c. 14.
et l. 5. c. 10.
et Sophoc.
Œdip. Tyr.
v. l. 93.391.
& 543.** particularly, mentioned by Plutarch to have been thus elected by the Eubœans, and Pittacus by the Mytilenæans; and that writer, though generally a vehement partizan of democracy, says the Athenians would so have elected Solon. Usurper, therefore, is not a convertible term: though in general the Grecian tyrants were usurpers. Without a favoring party among the people, no man could rise to the tyranny:²⁰ therefore a man of universal bad character could not become a tyrant. The most common step was that by which Pisistratus rose, the favor of the lower people. But the violence of faction among

²⁰ Ἀρ' οὐχὶ μῶρον ἔστι τοὺγχείρημά σου,

Ἄνευ τε πλήθους καὶ φίλων τυραννίδα

Θηρᾶν, ὃ πλήθει χείμασίν θ' ἀλίσκεται;

Sophocl. Œdip. Tyr. v. 540.

the Greeks was extreme : enormous severities were frequently practised against a defeated party : perhaps most enormous when the party prevailing was not headed by a tyrant, whose authority or influence might enable him, and whose very interest would generally induce him, to restrain private malice, and check popular fury. A citizen however, raised irregularly to sovereignty over his fellow citizens, would often find himself very insecure in his exaltation. Popular favor and party favor, which is a more confined popular favor, are extremely liable to fluctuate. But firmness is necessary to command ; and even great abilities, united with fortunate circumstances, would with difficulty, in such a situation, avoid the necessity of occasional severity ; weak minds and morose tempers would naturally fall into cruelty. Severities were used too frequently, sometimes atrocious crimes perpetrated to acquire that power, or to retain it. Hence the opprobrious import to which in modern languages the word Tyrant has been limited.

It is expressly said by Herodotus, and confirmed by all succeeding writers, that Pisistratus changed nothing in the Athenian constitution. All the laws continued in force ; the assembly, council, courts of justice, and all the magistracies remained with their constitutional powers ; he himself obeyed a citation from the Areopagus on a charge of murder. We are not assured that he even retained his guards ; but it appears probable. It was usual for those called Tyrants among the Greeks to have guards ; and the distinguishing name of doryphori, spearbearers, became attached to them, as that of toxotæ, bowmen, to the armed attendants of the regular magistrates. But it was not peculiar to those to whom the title of Tyrant was given. Pisistratus was honored by a de-

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Herodot.
1. 1. c. 59.
Plut. Solon.Arist. Polit.
1. 5. c. 12.
Plut. Solon.Arist. Polit.
1. 5. c. 12.

CHAP. V. *cree* of the people, as we have seen, with a guard for his person, while yet not qualified as tyrant, but simply as demagogue, and among the extravagances of the Grecian democracies this of the Athenian is not a solitary instance. Nor was the being attended by a guard necessary toward the acquisition of the title, any more than of the power of Tyrant; for Aristotle assures us that, in the age preceding that of Pisistratus, Cypselus, though always termed Tyrant of Corinth, so entirely trusted in the affection of his fellow-citizens that he never would have guards.²¹ It is evident that Cypselus was simply the leader of the commanding party, apparently the democratical. His son succeeded to his eminence, and held it through life. But the talents or the fortune necessary for the maintenance of such irregular and undefined eminence failing in his grandson, the adverse party gained the superiority, and then it became popular at Corinth to give the title of Tyrant not only to the expelled leader and his father, but also to the eminently popular Cypselus.

Pisistratus was, by every account, a man singularly formed for empire. Solon himself is reported to have said of him, ‘Take away only his ambition, cure ‘him of his lust of reigning, and there is not a man ‘more naturally disposed to every virtue, nor a better

²¹ In one part of his *Treatise on Government** Aristotle observes that a guard is proper both to legal kings and to tyrants; and he mentions it as a characteristical distinction between the two, that kings had subjects for guards, tyrants foreigners. Yet in the same treatise† he calls Cypselus Tyrant of Corinth, though, he tells us, Cypselus never would have any guard. The bowmen attending the regular magistrates of the Athenian commonwealth were commonly foreigners, frequently Scythians. Potter, b. 1. c. 13.

* b. 3. c. 14.

† b. 5. c. 12.

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' citizen.' The conduct of the great lawgiver in the revolution, and after it, remains but most unsatisfactorily reported in traditions so mutilated and deformed by party-spirit that even by conjecture to gain probability from them is difficult. It became the prevailing temper of succeeding times to brand the memory of Pisistratus; but the character of Solon was not to be involved in the reproach. To account for his want of authority and influence for preventing the usurpation, and to apologize for his acquiescence under it, should have been the object, but evidently unattainable. Might some of Plutarch's anecdotes Plut. & Diog. Laert. vit. Solon. be believed, they would evince his spirit, but not either the wisdom for which he was famed, or the influence which, with all he had done when himself the leading man, it should have procured him: for the Athenians, according to the biographer, were so satisfied with Pisistratus that they utterly disregarded all their venerable legislator's remonstrances. His friends arguing with him upon his imprudent freedom of speech, and asking to what he trusted for security against the tyrant's vengeance, 'To my old age,' he replied.²² But it was by other arts than those of iniquitous revenge and cruel precaution that Pisistratus proposed to secure, as he had acquired, his pre-eminence. Indeed what Plutarch himself proceeds to relate explains, perhaps more than anything else remaining from antiquity, what party-spirit had enveloped in contradiction and obscurity. Far, he says, from resenting Solon's freedom, Pisistratus treated him with the highest respect; and the venerable sage,

²² Cicero says that Pisistratus asked him: 'Hoc illud est quod Pisistrato tyranno a Solone responsum est; cum illi quærenti, Quâ tandem spe fretus, sibi tam audaciter obsisteret? respondisse dicitur, Senectute.' De Senect. c. 20.

CHAP. V. the unblemished patriot, not refusing the tyrant's friendship, lived with him in familiarity, and assisted him in the administration of the commonwealth. The contrary account of Diogenes Laertius will deserve notice, as marking the opposite characters of republican traditions, and the carelessness for consistency of so many writers under the Roman empire in reporting them. Solon, he says, long braved the tyrant's vengeance, but finding the Athenians so lost to all sense of virtue that his utmost efforts could not excite them to attempt the recovery of their freedom, left Athens, and never returned more. With this account he gives letters said to have passed between the legislator and the tyrant. Of these Plutarch seems to have known nothing, or to have neglected them as known forgeries. But were they genuine, they would contradict the narrative, all tending to confirm the concurrent testimony of antiquity to the excellence of the character of Pisistratus, and his unblameable conduct in the administration of his country's affairs.

We are not informed at what time the Athenians recovered Salamis after its second revolt to the Megarians. That Solon retook it when he was a young man, and long before he was appointed legislator, seems agreed among historians, differing as they do about other circumstances of these times. But many attribute the retaking of it to Pisistratus with Solon. This could hardly have been when Solon was a young man, nor before his legislation. We have only probability for the conjecture that it might have been after the establishment of Pisistratus in what is called his tyranny.

Plutarch reports that Solon died at the age of eighty, about two years after the elevation of Pisi-

stratus. Megacles and Lycurgus then uniting their strength expelled the tyrant and assumed themselves the direction of the republic's affairs. This seems confirmation of Plutarch's report of the political union of Pisistratus and Solon: while the legislator lived, Pisistratus directed the administration: when he had lost that excellent man's support, his opponents acquired the superiority.

Herodot.
l. 1. c. 60.

But the confederate rivals could not long agree. Megacles, apparently finding himself in danger of being overborne, sent proposals of reconciliation to Pisistratus; and, to evince his sincerity and ensure permanence of union, offered him his daughter in marriage. Pisistratus consenting, the object seems to have been to effect the proposed revolution in a manner to obviate occasion for violence and bloodshed. The account, given by Herodotus, of the manner in which this was done is among the strangest in all history; yet that author lived so nearly within memory of the event, the story is so little flattering to any, and the circumstances were of so public a nature, that, though party prejudice is likely enough to have disguised it, we scarcely can suppose it wholly unfounded. Indeed Herodotus himself calls it the simplest trick he ever heard of: yet it appears that many ancient writers gave it credit, and, such as it is related to us, it might be not unaccommodated to the prejudices, the imagination, and the disposition of those on whom the united chiefs meant to work. Finding a woman of the Pæanian borough, named Phya, of low birth, and by occupation a garland-seller, but, with extraordinary stature, well-proportioned and handsome, they dressed her in a complete suit of armour, with every ornament that could add grace and splendor to a fine natural figure, seated

CHAP. V. her in a magnificent chariot, and, in solemn procession, entered the city, heralds preceding, who proclaimed, ‘O Athenians, with willing minds receive Pisistratus, whom Minerva, honoring above all men, ‘herself conducts into your citadel.’ The people, adds the historian, believed the woman to be the goddess, and worshipped her, and received Pisistratus, who thus recovered the tyranny.

It has been supposed by some that Strabo held the authority of Herodotus for nothing; and the treatise remains which Plutarch composed purposely to depreciate his credit. But Strabo’s expression has been alleged to prove very much more than it meant: he follows and confirms Herodotus in numberless instances; and Plutarch’s treatise tends to prove him impartial, without proving him in any instance false. The whole tenor indeed of Herodotus’s narration shows him a man of great curiosity, but great modesty, and perfect honesty. Doubtful of his own opinion, and scrupulously cautious of misleading others, he thinks it his duty to relate all reports, but with express and repeated warning to his readers to use their own judgment for determining their belief.²³ Hence indeed his authority is sometimes hazardous. But generally the simplicity of his manner detects itself, and, with the assistance of circumstances collateral to the story, sufficiently indicates where he deserves credit, and where neglect.²⁴ The public

²³ Τοῖσι μέν νυν ὑπ’ Αἰγυπτίων λεγομένοισι χράσθω ὅτεῳ τὰ τοιαῦτα πιθανά ἔσι· ἐμοὶ δὲ παρὰ πάντα τὸν λόγον ὑπόκειται ὅτι τὰ λεγόμενα ὑπ’ ἐκάστων ἀκοῇ γράφω. Herod. 1. 2. c. 123.

Ἐγὼ δὲ ὁφεῖλω λέγειν τὰ λεγόμενα, πείθεσθαι γε μὴν οὐ παντάπασι ὁφεῖλως καὶ μοι τοῦτο τὸ ἐπος ἐχέτω ἐξ πάντα τὸν λόγον. Herod. 1. 7. c. 152.

²⁴ The historian of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire has characterized Herodotus with his usual liveliness of ex-

nature of the facts may be a degree of testimony to the strange story just related. Consonancy to the characters of persons concerned will form an additional test. Both are totally wanting to the account which Herodotus proceeds to give of a domestic quarrel said to have occasioned the second expulsion of Pisistratus. No more therefore seems ascertained upon sufficient historical evidence than that Pisistratus did retire to Eretria in Eubœa; leaving the Alcmæonidæ, so the partizans of Megacles were called, masters of Athens.

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But even in banishment the consideration and influence of Pisistratus were great. He received presents and loans to a large amount from the states with which he had formed an interest during his administration of Athens. He continued to strengthen these connexions; and at length assembled a military force with which, in the eleventh year of this his second banishment, he returned into Attica. Immediately he made himself master of Marathon. Hither his remaining partizans in Athens flocked to his standard, together with many other Athenians who, according to Herodotus's expression, ‘preferred ‘tyranny to liberty.’²⁵ This apparently was the language of popular prejudice in the historian's age. But the preference could be only theirs who expected freedom from that called by the opposite faction the tyranny of Pisistratus, whereas the administration of the Alcmæonidæ was real tyranny to them. Not till pression: ‘Herodotus,’ he says, ‘sometimes writes for children, ‘and sometimes for philosophers.’* It is really the simplicity of Herodotus that makes him often unfit for children. He has few pages from which the philosopher may not profit.

²⁵ Οἶσιν ἡ τυραννίς πρὸ ἐλευθερίης ἦν ἀσπαζότερον.

Herod. l. l. c. 62.

* Chap. 34. note 52.

CHAP. after some imprudent or perhaps unavoidable delay,
 V. the Alcmaeonidæ led an army from the city, ill disciplined and ill commanded. Pisistratus attacking them by surprise, the rout was immediate. With his usual presence of mind, and with a humanity the more admirable as it was then uncommon, he presently stopped the slaughter, and sending some horse after the fugitives, proclaimed that, ‘None need fear who would go quietly to their homes: Pisistratus promised safety to their persons and property.’ The known clemency and honor of the chief procured extensive confidence in the proclamation; and, the principal Alcmaeonidæ flying, Pisistratus entered Athens unopposed.

It does not appear that even now any fundamental change was made in the Athenian constitution, or any unwarrantable step taken to secure the leader’s power. As head of the prevailing party he had of course the principal influence in the government. His abilities might have given him that pre-eminence in any free state. A particular interest with the ruling parties in several neighbouring states, especially Thebes and Argos, and a wise and liberal use of a very great private property, were the resources in which he besides mostly confided. Some measures were necessary to ensure peaceable demeanour from those partizans of the Alcmaeonidæ who had not fled. None however were injured in their persons; their children only were kept as hostages, and themselves sent to inhabit the island of Naxus. This may appear arbitrary; but if compared with what we hereafter shall find usual in revolutions of Grecian cities, it was singularly mild: in short it was the resource of a party-chief, liberal and humane as experienced and clear-sighted, to ensure political quiet with the least

Herodot.
l. 1. c. 61.

possible severity. Lygdamis, a Naxian, banished from his island, one of the most populous and wealthy of the Ægean sea, had led a considerable body of the party banished with him to assist Pisistratus in re-establishing his party in Athens. Pisistratus requited the benefit by assisting Lygdamis to re-establish himself in Naxus. The detention of the children of the Alcmæonidean party then in Athens, while the fathers were sent to Naxus, gave security for the quiet of both governments.

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After these first measures for ensuring public peace, the administration of Pisistratus was uniformly mild and beneficial.²⁶ Of his foreign transactions the most important recorded was the establishment of an Athenian colony at Sigeum on the Hellespont, and a war which followed with the Mitylenæans of Lesbos, ^{Herodot. l. 5. c. 94.} who claimed the territory. It was upon occasion of ^{95.} a victory gained by the Athenians in this war that the poet Alcæus, a principal citizen and head of a faction at Mitylene, incurred the disgrace of quitting his arms for quicker flight. These spoils were, by the conquering Athenians, as a trophy suspended in the temple of Minerva at Sigeum.

The domestic administration of Pisistratus is universally eulogized. Many anecdotes are preserved very highly to the advantage of his character. His mildness, patience, and forbearance were not less remarkable than his ability, activity, and intrepidity. His kindness to the poor and distressed was not a dissembled virtue, assumed for the advancement of his ambitious views, but conspicuous through his life. Many of his laws and regulations, highly advantageous

Plut. v.
Solon. &
Apophth.
Diog.
Laert. v.
Solon. &
al. ap. Jo.
Meurs. in
Pisist.

²⁶ Even Plutarch reckons Pisistratus among those who, πονηρίᾳ κτησάμενοι τυραννίδας, ἐχρήσαντο πρὸς ἀρετὴν αὐταῖς μέτριοι καὶ δημωφελεῖς. De serâ num. vind. p. 551.

CHAP. V. to his country, became a part of its constitution. Finding an increasing disposition in the Athenians to desert their habitations in the country, and commit rural employments wholly to slaves, he exerted himself to discourage this, and promote agriculture. To assist those whose own means failed for the due cultivation of their lands, he often gave from his private property, and on no occasion was slow to reward merit or relieve distress. The laws against idleness, attributed by some to Solon, are also ascribed to Pisistratus. The law decreeing a public provision for the wounded in their country's service is referred to him alone. He was eminent for love of learning and the fine arts. He is said to have founded the first public library known in the world; and the first complete collection and digestion of Homer's poems is by Cicero attributed to him. Cicero also speaks of his eloquence in the highest terms; as the first model of that sublime and polished rhetoric in which, as in most other arts, Greece has been mistress of the world. Though Pisistratus discouraged that increasing population of the capital which was hurtful to the country, yet he improved the town and adorned it with splendid public buildings. He is said to have been the first who ever laid out a garden for public use. He continued to direct the administration of Athens with great wisdom, and with the esteem of all men, during life, and, at an advanced age, he died in peace.

*De Orat.
1. 3. c. 34.
& Brutus.*

Whatsoever the authority of Pisistratus was in the Athenian state, by whatsoever means supported, and in whatsoever way exerted, it appears certain that he never assumed the tone of royalty. On his death his influence descended to sons worthy of such a father: but so entirely was the administration of the republic

still conducted according to the forms prescribed by the constitution that, when afterward it became popular at Athens to call Pisistratus and his successors kings and tyrants, no one public act recorded who was his successor. Herodotus, who lived within memory of his contemporaries, mentions Hippias and Hipparchus as sons of Pisistratus, without saying which was the elder or the superior. The accurate Thucydides, a few years only later, informs us that common report in his time made Hipparchus the successor; but erroneously, he says, for Hippias was the elder: yet Plato, shortly after, concurring with that common report which Thucydides had judged erroneous, reckoned Hipparchus the elder. However this might be, those brothers had certainly together the principal influence in the administration of Athens. Heads of the prevailing party, their friends only could obtain the principal magistracies.²⁷ But that power, which the favor of their party gave them, they used very advantageously for the public, and without asperity toward their opponents. The character of Hipparchus is transmitted, on no less authority than that of Plato, as one of the most perfect in history. Such were his virtues, his abilities, and his diligence, that the philosopher does not scruple to say the period of his administration was like another golden age. He was in the highest degree a friend to learning and learned men. The collection and digestion of Homer's works, by others ascribed to his father, is by Plato attributed to him. Hipparchus however introduced them more generally to the knowledge of the Athenians, by directing that a public

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Thucyd.
1. 1. c. 20. &
1. 6. c. 54.

Plat. Hipp.

Hipparch.
Aelian.

Var. Hist.

1. 8. c. 2.

²⁷ Τὰ δὲ ἄλλα αὐτὴ ἡ πόλις τοῖς πρὶν κειμένοις ἐχρῆτο, πλὴν καθόσον ἀεὶ τινὰ ἐπεμέλοντο σφῶν αὐτῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς εἶναι.

Thucyd. 1. 6. c. 54.

CHAP. V. recital of them should always make a part of the entertainment at the Panathenæan festival. He invited the poets Anacreon of Teos, and Simonides of Ceos, to Athens, and liberally maintained them there. Desirous of diffusing instruction as widely as possible among his fellow-countrymen, while books were yet few, and copies not easily multiplied, he caused marble terms of Mercury, with short moral sentences engraved on the sides, to be erected in the streets and principal highways throughout Attica. Hippias at the same time was beneficially active in public business. He improved the public revenue. Under his superintendency the money of Attica was called in and recoined. He was author of a law allowing compositions in money for various burthensome offices, which before none could avoid. He prosecuted the improvements of the city begun by his father. Attic taste in every branch appears to have had its rise principally under the Pisistratidæ. The administration of the commonwealth was at the same time conducted, in peace and in war, happily at home and honorably abroad; and, according to the remarkable expression of the able and impartial Thucydides, ‘Those tyrants singularly cultivated virtue and wisdom.’²⁸

The circumstances which produced the death of Hipparchus, the expulsion of his family, and a number of great events, are, as common in conspiracies, wrapt in inexplicable mystery. The account given by Thucydides, utterly abhorrent as it is from our manners, was, we must suppose, not inconsistent with those of Athens: yet did not satisfy Plato, who relates a different story. Succeeding writers have differed

Thucyd.
l. 6. c. 54.
& seq.

Plat.
Hipparch.
Arist. Polit.
l. 5. c. 10.

²⁸ Ἐπετήδευσαν ἐπιπλεῖσον δὴ τύραννοι οὗτοι ἀρετὴν καὶ ξύνεσιν.
Thucyd. l. 6. c. 54.

from both. But there is one circumstance, of principal historical consequence, in which all agree: it was private revenge, and not any political motive, that induced Aristogiton and Harmodius, two Athenians of middle rank, to conspire the death of Hippias and Hipparchus. For the time of executing their intention they chose the festival of Panathenæa; because, part of the ceremony consisting in a procession of armed citizens, they could then go armed without exciting suspicion. They engaged few in their plot: nothing remains from which to suppose they had any object beyond killing the two brothers; and even for this their measures appear to have been ill-concerted. Their first attempt was intended against Hippias, while he was directing the ceremony in the Ceramicus, a place in the suburbs: but, as they approached, they saw one of their fellow-conspirators familiarly conversing with him; for, says Thucydides, Hippias was easy of access to all.²⁹ This excited a suspicion that they were betrayed; upon which they suddenly resolved to go against Hipparchus, who was superintending in the Leocorion, within the city-walls. They killed him; but Harmodius was also killed on the spot. Aristogiton escaped the attending guards, but being taken by the people was not mildly treated. So Thucydides has expressed himself.³⁰

²⁹ Ἡν δὲ πᾶσιν εὐπρόσοδος ὁ Ἰππίας. Thucyd. 1. 6. c. 57.

³⁰ Οὐ ρᾳδίως διετέθη. The stories told by later writers, Seneca, Polyænus, Justin, and others, both of Aristogiton, and of his mistress Leæna, are totally destitute of that testimony reasonably to be expected from authors nearly contemporary. Indeed it seems not too much to assert that they are evidently fables. See Pausanias, b. 1. c. 23.

[* Herodotus and Thucydides particularize the Panathenæa as the time of this event. Mr. Clinton therefore considers it fixed to the date of July or August B. C. 514., as the Panathenæa 'were celebrated in *Hecatombæon* of the third year of each Olympiad.' *Fasti Helleni*. p. 16.]

Justin.
l. 2. c. 9.

Ol. 64. 4.
B. C. 512.
Dowd. Ann.
Thucyd.
[B. C. 514.
Ol. 66. 3.
Cl. *]

CHAP.
V.Thucyd.
l. 6. c. 59.

Now it was, according to the testimony which Plato has delivered in very pointed terms, that the tyranny properly began.³¹ Anger at so atrocious a deed, together with uncertainty from what quarter he might have next to fear, led Hippias immediately to severities. Many Athenians were put to death. And, this change of conduct once made, to revert to the former course, was not a matter of option. Other support than the love of his fellowcountrymen became necessary, not merely to the power, but even to the personal safety of Hippias. Looking around therefore for means of improving his connexions among foreign states, he married his only daughter to Æanrides, son of Hippocles tyrant of Lampsacus, who had intercourse with the Persian court, and considerable interest there. The epitaph on her monument in Lampsacus, recorded by Thucydides, and remarkable for an elegant simplicity of panegyric, not totally lost even in a literal prose translation, proves how little the title of Tyrant was then a term of reproach : ‘ This dust,’ it says, ‘ covers Archedice, daughter of Hippias, in his time the first of the Greeks. ‘ Daughter, sister, wife, and mother of Tyrants, her mind was never elated to arrogance.’

Herodot.
l. 5. c. 62.

The Alcmæonidæ, ejected by Pisistratus, were numerous and wealthy. Under these generic names the Greek writers include, with the family, often all the partizans of the family. They occupied a strong hold at Lipsydrium, overlooking the borough of Paeonia,³²

³¹ Καὶ πάντων ἀν τῶν παλαιῶν ἥκουσας δτι ταῦτα μόνα τὰ (τρία) ἔτη τυραννίς ἐγένετο ἐν Ἀθήναις· τὸν δὲ ἄλλον χρόνον ἐγγύς τι ἔζων Ἀθηναῖοι ὥσπερ ἐπὶ Κρόνε βασιλεύοντος. Plat. Hipparch. Herodotus and Thucydides had before borne nearly the same testimony, though in less emphatical language.

³² It seems every way probable that the learned and ingenious, but strangely arrogant and petulant critic Pauw, though disdain-

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and fortified it. There, watching opportunities to recover Athens, they maintained communication with other Grecian states, or parties in them, and were diligent to preserve and extend their consideration. An extraordinary opportunity occurred : the temple of Delphi was reduced to ruin by fire. It was then the duty of the Amphictyons to provide for its restoration. The Alcmæonidæ offered for a certain sum to undertake it, and by a contract made with them they were to erect a building, according to a plan agreed upon, with a stone which the neighbouring mountains afforded. For an exiled family, objects of persecution to the rulers of a powerful state, it was a circumstance affording great hope to become so connected with so respectable a body as the Amphictyons. Eager then in their ulterior purpose, they made all Greece in a manner their debtor, and even involved the divinity of the place in obligation to them, by exceeding their contract in the sumptuousness of the execution, particularly by building the whole front of the temple of Parian marble. Another advantage however, of perhaps yet greater importance, as common report went in Herodotus's time, they derived from engaging in this business. They gained the managers of the oracle to their interest, so that whenever application, public or private, was made from Lacedæmon to the god of Delphi, and such applications were at that time numerous, the answer constantly concluded with an admonition for the Lacedæmonians to give liberty to Athens.

Herodot.
ut sup.
Pindar.
Pyth. 7.
Pausan.
l. 10. c. 5.

To this artifice the historian ascribes what followed.

ing discussion and quotation, and scrupling no assertion that he fancies, has been right in his conjecture, that for *Pœonia*, the name found in our copies of Herodotus, should be read *Pœania*, which was the name of an Attic borough.

Herodot.
l. 5. c. 63.

CHAP. ^{V.} Though Lacedæmon was in alliance with Athens, under the actual government, but bound to the Pisistratidæ by the sacred ties of hospitality, it was determined to invade Attica. A small force only being sent, the Alcmaeonidæ probably, unable to obtain more, representing that a small force, seconding their efforts, would suffice, was defeated, and Anchimolius, its leader, slain. The Lacedæmonian councils were commonly slow, but one of their kings, Cleomenes, was of an enterprising temper. Irritated then by their loss and disgrace, they were induced to commit to him a larger army to revenge them. Joined by the Alcmaeonidæ, he defeated the Athenians under Hippias at Pallenium, and proceeded to lay siege to Athens. Little hope however was entertained of taking the city by force, but some expectation was founded on intrigue. This Hippias and his principal partizans also dreading, sent their children out of the garrison to be conveyed to a place of safety. They were intercepted; and the fathers, unable by any other means to save them, consented to surrender Athens and leave its territory in five days. Hippias retired to Sigeum on the Hellespont, which was under the government of Hegesistratus, his natural brother, who had been established there by Pisistratus.

The Lacedæmonians held at this time an extraordinary superiority of character and power among the Grecian republics. Masters of Messenia by conquest, allied from of old with Corinth, and, as the more powerful state, always taking the lead in the league, hardly excepting Argos, always hostilely inclined to them, but always weaker, they commanded Peloponnesus. Bound by their singular laws to a kind of monkish poverty, their ambition was boundless. Whenever Grecian states had war with one

*Andoc.
de Myst.
p. 53.*

*OI. 67. 3.
B. C. 509.
Ann. Thuc.
Herod. I. 5.
c. 65. & 94.
Thucyd.
I. 6. c. 58.*

*Polyb.
I. 6. p. 492.
Isocrat.
Panathen.
p. 454. &c.
490. t. 2.
ed. Par.
Auger.*

another, or sedition within themselves, they were ready to interfere as mediators. Generally they conducted the business wisely, and with great appearance of moderation; but always having in view to extend the authority of their state. For this the circumstances of the many little republics afforded large opportunity, there being in every one an aristocratical, or oligarchical, and a democratical faction. Everywhere then the Lacedæmonians favored oligarchy; a few chiefs, indebted to Lacedæmon for their situation, and generally unable to retain it without her assistance, being ready instruments for holding their state in what, under the specious name of alliance, was always, more or less, a real subjection.

This policy it was proposed to follow at Athens; and the strife of factions there greatly favored it. By the late revolution, the chief of the Alcmæonidæ, Clisthenes, son of Megacles, was the first person of the commonwealth; a man not of those superior abilities necessary to hold the sway in a turbulent democracy. A party was soon formed against him under Isagoras, with whom most of the principal Athenians sided. It was a critical moment for Athens. On its result depended much of her following greatness and much of her following miseries, and, through the following greatness of Athens, it was a critical moment for all the civilized world; though whether better or worse might have followed, had the result been different, is beyond human optics to discern. The resource of Clisthenes was among the lower people. These being all-powerful in the general assembly, he used them for making alterations in the constitution favorable to his own influence. Others are uncertainly indicated, but one was eminent: he divided anew the Athenian territory and people; in

Isocr.
Panathen.
p. 460. t. 2.

Herodot.
1. 5. c. 66.
69.

CHAP. stead of four, making the number of wards ten, to
 V. which he gave entirely new names. At this time,
 as Herodotus shows, if Pisistratus was tyrant, he was
 not less so. His power was equal, but his moderation was not equal.³³

Herodot.
1. 5. c. 70.

In the contests of Grecian factions the alternative was commonly victory, or exile, and sometimes death. We must not wonder therefore if the inferior party sometimes resorted to very harsh expedients. Isagoras and his adherents applied to Lacedæmon. Of the two kings, Cleomenes, violent in his temper, but of considerable abilities, had more influence in the administration of his country than its kings always possessed. Whether or no before connected with Isagoras, he sent a herald to Athens, by whom he imperiously decreed banishment against Clisthenes and others of the Alcmæonidæ, on the old pretence of inherited criminality from the sacrilegious execution of the partizans of Cylon. Such was, at

³³ Ως γὰρ δὴ τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον, πρότερον ἀπωσμένον, τότε πάντα πρὸς τὴν ἐωὕτου μοίρην προσεθήκατο, τὰς φυλὰς μετωνόμασε, καὶ ἐποίησε πλεῦνας ἐξ ἐλασσόνων, κ. τ. λ. ἦν τε, τὸν δῆμον προσθέμενος, πολλῷ κατίπερθε τῶν ἀντισαιωτέων. Herod. 1. 5. c. 69. This honest passage gives great insight into the state of party-politics at Athens at the time, and affords a material part of the clue necessary for tracing them through following times. It is remarkably to the credit of Herodotus, and extraordinary that it should have been so little noticed, or rather so totally unnoticed, by writers who have criticized him, that whatever he has said upon that delicate and difficult subject, the domestic politics of Athens, and indeed of all Greece, is perfectly consonant to the unquestioned authority of Thucydides. The two writers mutually reflect light upon one another: Herodotus opens the scene; and whoever will take the pains to connect his desultory yet amusing narration, will find him no unworthy forerunner of Thucydides and Xenophon, who with not less honesty, but more art and judgment, lead us to the catastrophe.

this time, the authority of Lacedæmon in Greece SECT. V.
 that Clisthenes obeyed the decree. Encouraged by such proof of the respect or dread in which the Spartan power was held, Cleomenes thought the season favorable for making that change in the Athenian constitution which would suit the views of Spartan ambition. Going to Athens, with only a small military force, whether by his own authority, or procuring by intimidation a decree of the people, he banished seven hundred families. Such was at this time Athenian liberty. He was then proceeding to dissolve the council of five hundred, and to commit the whole power of the commonwealth to a new council consisting of three hundred, all partizans of Isagoras. But Athens was not so far prepared for subjection. The five hundred had the courage and virtue which were not found in the popular assembly. Refusing themselves to submit, their example and their exhortations excited the people to opposition. Cleomenes and Isagoras, without a military force sufficient to support their violent measures, took refuge in the citadel. Besieged there two days, on the third day they surrendered, upon condition that the Lacedaemonians might depart in safety. Isagoras escaped with them; but many Athenians of his party were put to death. Clisthenes and the exiled families immediately returned.

Opposition to the Alcmæonidean party being thus completely overborne, extreme apprehension nevertheless was entertained of the consequences of such a breach with Lacedæmon. At a loss for allies within Greece capable of giving effectual support, the Athenian leaders sent an embassy to Sardis to endeavour to form connexion with Artaphernes the Persian satrap. Hitherto there had been scarcely any communication

Herodot.
1. 5. c. 72.
Thucyd.

1. 1. c. 126.

Herodot. &
Thucyd. ut
sup. &
Aristoph.
Lysist.

v. 273.

Herodot.
1. 5. c. 73.

CHAP. between any branch of the vast empire of Persia and
V. the European Greeks. The satrap received the
deputies of a little unheard-of republic with that
haughtiness which might be expected. Having ad-
mitted them to audience, he asked who they were,
and from what part of the world they came, that they
desired alliance with the Persians. Being informed,
he answered them very shortly, ‘ If they would give
‘ earth and water to king Darius,’ the usual ceremony
in acknowledging subjection, ‘ they might be received
‘ into alliance ; otherwise they must depart.’ The
ambassadors, considering only the immediate danger
of their country, consented to those humiliating
terms. Such, according to extant accounts, was the
first public transaction between Greece and Persia.

CHAPTER VI.

View of the Eastern Nations politically connected with Greece.

SECTION I.

Of Lydia: Asiatic Grecian commonwealths: Scythia: Assyria: Persia. Reduction of the Asian Greeks under the Persian dominion by Cyrus.

As the affairs of Greece now become essentially connected with those of that powerful empire which, by rapid conquest, had united under one dominion almost the whole of the civilized world, it will be necessary to take a short survey of the state of things in the surrounding nations; and particularly in those of the vast continent of Asia, whose transactions with the little country of Greece furnish some of the most remarkable and important events in the political history of mankind.

SECT.
I.

It has been already observed that riches and arts were earlier known in Lesser Asia than in Greece. Before the Trojan war, the country whence Pelops came, by some called Phrygia, by others Lydia, was famed among the Greeks for wealth. In Lydia, the mountain Tmolus anciently abounded with gold, which the torrent-river Pactolus so brought down from the craggy summits, that a rude people might easily collect it. Hence, at the foot of Tmolus, on the banks of the Pactolus, the town of Sardis early rose to importance, and became the capital of Lydia.

Herodot.
l. 1. c. 93.
Strabo,
l. 13.
p. 265.

CHAP.
VI.

Gold, to which all nations of the old world, even in their rudest ages, seem almost instinctively to have attributed a mysterious value, while the original Americans, of any people known to have long possessed it, have alone given it an estimation nearly proportioned to its intrinsic worth; gold has not always those pernicious effects which speculative philosophers have been fond of attributing to it. Gold was to the Lydian the spring of industry, of knowledge, we may add of virtue, if it be truly said that virtue consists in action. Undoubtedly it was also the spring of vice; for so things are constituted in this world, that there almost only can be active virtue where is vice. The Lydians, as we have heretofore had occasion to remark, appear to have derived their origin from the same hordes who peopled Greece. Their laws and manners, to the time of Herodotus, were almost the same with those of the Greeks; and that historian mentions some circumstances in the progress of society in which they preceded neighbouring nations. They were the first people known to the Greeks to have exercised retail trades,¹ and the first who struck coins of gold and silver. Coins are singularly adapted to convey to late ages and distant countries exact information of the progress of art and fine taste: and the extant coins of the Lydian kings, the oldest known to exist, exhibit

Herodot.
1. 1. c. 35.
74. 93. &
94.

¹ Πρῶτοι κάπηλοι ἐγένοντο. Herod. 1. 1. c. 94. We must not expect perfect correspondence, in terms of this kind, between different languages; in distant countries, and widely distant ages: but we find *κάπηλος* very nearly defined, by Plato, a Shop-keeper.* He is put in opposition to the *εμπόρος*, who travelled to deal, and who, according to the extent of his dealings, would be, in modern terms, either a merchant or a pedlar. In another place Plato distinguishes the *κάπηλος*, as one who bought to sell, from the *αὐτοπώλης*, who sold his own manufacture or produce.†

* Plat. de Rep. t. 2. p. 371. † Plat. de Rep. t. 2. p. 260.

remarkable proofs of the elegant taste and excellent workmanship of their early era. SECT.
I.

In all countries the arts of peace and war have flourished together. While the people of Lydia through industry were growing rich, the monarchs extended their dominion eastward as far as the river Halys. The small republics of the Grecian colonies could not be safe in the neighbourhood of such a potentate. What accidental weakness of the Asiatic princes had allowed those adventurers, mostly driven by violence from their settlements in Greece, to appropriate a territory on the Asiatic shore, four hundred miles in length, eminent for richness of soil and beauty of climate, so little were letters known or practised and so deficient tradition, we are wholly without information. Those adventurers however were of the most polished Greeks of their age, Ionians from Athens, Æolians from Thebes and from the capitals of the Pelopidean and Nelidean kings. They knew how to profit from a rich settlement acquired. The improvements of Lydia would become theirs. Alone, in that part of the Asiatic continent, possessing ports and shipping, maritime commerce was exclusively theirs. Accordingly we find that, in science and the fine arts, Ionia became the mistress of Greece; and in extent of maritime communication the colonies far exceeded the mother-country. But, while flourishing each by itself, and though some maintained intimate friendly intercourse with the distant sister colonies of Sicily and Italy, yet the Asiatic Grecian states, jealous of their separate independency, had scarcely any political connexion with the mother-country, and little with one another. The several cities indeed of each people, Æolian, Ionian, and Dorian, maintained a union in religion: they had their common sacrifices; which

CHAP. VI. would however involve some political connexion, or at least would hold means always ready for forming political connexion. The Ionians, with their Panionian sacrifice, had a meeting of deputies from all their cities for common consultation concerning their political interests. But even the Panionian assembly, being but a congress of ministers from independent states, wanted authority to enforce its own resolutions, and the political connexion produced by it remained very imperfect.

The first attempt of a Lydian monarch to reduce the Grecian states, of which we have any information, was under Gyges, supposed to have reigned soon after the age of Lycurgus. Deficient as their political connexion was, he found among them probably a knowledge of war as well as a republican spirit of bravery, which the Asiatics in general did not possess; for he failed in his attempts upon Miletus and Smyrna, but he took Colophon. The weight however of the Lydian kingdom, perseveringly exerted, was too great for any of those little commonwealths to resist: Ardyses, son of Gyges, took Miletus and Priene.

There are some parts of the world whose inhabitants, from earliest history, have differed from all others in circumstances and manners, which they have preserved unaltered through hundreds of generations. Of these the people of that vast country called SCYTHIA by the Greeks, and by the moderns Tartary, are especially remarkable. The description that Justin, after Trogus Pompeius, gives of the Scythians, is equally just, as far as our knowledge goes, for all former and for all following ages. They wander over, rather than possess, a country of immense extent. Exercising no tillage, they claim no property in land: they hold in abhorrence and scorn

Justin.

1. 2. c. 2.

Herod. 1. 4.

Strab. 1. 8.

SECT.
I.

the confinement of a fixed habitation; roaming perpetually, with their families and herds, from pasture to pasture over their boundless wilderness. In this vagabond life, not to steal from one another is almost their only law. Their desires commonly go no farther than for food, which their herds supply, and for clothing, which the extreme cold of their climate makes peculiarly necessary. For the whole extent of their country being far removed from the balmy influence of the ocean; and, though mostly plain, yet of extraordinary height above the level of the ocean; being bounded even on the south by mountains mostly covered with snow, while the tract northward is a continent of snow, their winters are of a severity unknown under the same latitude in other parts of the globe.²—Nature has therefore supplied the brute animals of those regions with a peculiar warmth of covering. To man is only given ability to wrest such boons from the inferior creation. The ingenuity of the ancient Scythians went thus far. Necessity drove them to the use of those furs for clothing which are

² Herodotus's exact acquaintance with the Scythian climate, and his lively description of it, both deserve notice: Δυσχείμερος δὲ αὕτη ἡ καταλεχθεῖσα πᾶσα χώρη οὕτω δή τι ἐστι· ἔνθα τοὺς μὲν ὀκτὼ τῶν μηνῶν ἀφόρητος ὅιος γίνεται κρυμὸς, ἐν τοῖσι ὕδωρ ἐκχέας, πηλὸν οὐ ποιήσεις· πῦρ δὲ ἀνακαίων ποιήσεις πηλόν. Ἡ δὲ Θάλασσα πήγνυται, καὶ ὁ Βόσπορος πᾶς ὁ Κιμμέριος· καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ κρυστάλλου οἱ ἔντὸς τάφροι Σκύθαι κατοικημένοι σρατεύονται, καὶ τὰς ἀμάξας ἐπελάνονται πέρην ἐς τὸν Σινδούν. Οὕτω μέν δὴ τοὺς ὀκτὼ μῆνας διατελεῖται χειμῶν ἐών· τοὺς δὲ ἐπιλοίπους τέσσερας ψύχεα αὐτόθι ἐστι. *c. t. λ.* Herodot. l. 4. c. 28. See also Strabo, b. 7. p. 307. In the mild climate of our own island we do not readily learn to conceive the severity of continental winters, even in the most desirable latitudes, where the surface is elevated and the ocean distant. All modern accounts of the countries around the Euxine testify to the justness of Herodotus's description of the Scythian winter.

CHAP. VI. become so extensively an article of useless, perhaps often pernicious luxury in milder climates.³ Such a country, with such inhabitants, would little invite the ambition of others. But the Scythians, instinctively fond of wandering, were likely to be inspired with a desire to wander among the possessions of their more settled neighbours. And though their manner of life is little above that of brutes, yet it has always been that of gregarious brutes: they migrate in such multitudes that their progression has been scarcely resistible. War was moreover singularly their delight; and mercy and human kindness were totally alien to their warfare. Scalping was practised by them nearly as by the American Indians: none could claim his share of plunder who had not an enemy's head to present to his chief. The scalp then became the warrior's favorite ornament for his own person, and that of his horse: the number he possessed decided his reputation and his rank. Without this testimonial of military merit none could be admitted to their principal feasts; where, as among our Scandinavian ancestors, probably their descendants, the skulls of slain enemies were the drinking-cups. It is perhaps well for the historian's credit that we are assured, by unquestionable testimony, of the existence of such practices among later people.⁴

³ England is perhaps, of all countries in the northern temperate zone, that in which furs are least used. In few parts of the world indeed is precaution of any kind against changes in the atmosphere less known, because in few less necessary; though nowhere are those changes more the subject of conversation and complaint; which seems to arise from a peculiar fondness for exercise in the air and a consequent impatience under confinement within doors, which the people of some other parts of Europe bear without complaint.

⁴ This sketch of so singular a portion of mankind was penned

Herod. I. 4.
c. 64. 65.

Thrice, in very early times, these ferocious vagabonds are said to have overrun Asia. But their irruptions had more the effect of a swarm of locusts, an inundation, or a hurricane, than of an expedition devised and conducted by the reason of men. While Ardyes reigned in Lydia there happened a migration from those rugged climates. A Scythian horde drove before them a Cimmerian horde, apparently of not very dissimilar manners. The conquerors, pursuing eastward, entered Media, and overwhelmed that rich and powerful kingdom. The Cimmerians had avoided them by taking a more westerly course; and, in their flight, little less terrible to the nations among whom they came than the Scythians had been to themselves, they overran Asia Minor. Sardis fell their prey; the citadel only notwithstanding them. Most of the Grecian cities suffered. But the plague was transitory. It came,

SECT.
I.

Herodot.
L. I. c. 15.
& l. 4. c. 1.

Ol. 36. 2.

B. C.

635. N.

Ol. 39. 1.

B. C.

624. B.

before the author had seen the finished picture of the same people by the masterly hand of the historian of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. It has been observed by more than one great historian, that every book should be as complete as possible within itself, and should never refer for anything material to other books.* Sensible of the truth of this remark, the author found himself under peculiar difficulty in the necessity of giving some account of the Scythians. He scrupled the transcription of a long passage from a history not only in the hands, but fresh in the memory of all Europe. The whole would indeed have been beyond his purpose, the selection of parts hazardous, and any appearance of competition preposterous. He therefore risked his original sketch, principally translated from Justin and Herodotus, which he hopes will be found not absolutely incompetent for its purpose; and it will certainly be imputed as credit to those two writers, that this sketch, as far as it goes, accords very completely with the elaborate account of the historian first mentioned, who has so singularly united the liveliest manner with the most laborious diligence.

* Hume's Hist. of England, Appendix II. and Padre de Paolo, Hist. Conc. Trid.

CHAP. VI. it destroyed, it vanished; and things resumed nearly their former situation.

OL. 50.⁵
B. C.
580. N.
OL. 39. 4.
B. C.
621. B.
Herodot.
I. I. c. 17.

The power of the Lydian monarchy however was shaken. Some of the Grecian states, Miletus particularly, appear to have recovered independency; for we find Sadyattes, son of Ardyes, toward the end of his reign, engaged in war with the Milesians. It was continued or renewed by his son Halyattes. Miletus was then the richest and most populous of the Asiatic Grecian cities. None of the greater powers having directed their attention to maritime affairs, the naval force of the little Grecian states gave them consequence; and that of Miletus was the superior. The Lydian monarch had only to oppose to it what he might command from his subject Greeks. The Milesians therefore commanding the sea, a blockade by land was little efficacious; and any other mode of siege was at that time little known. The manner therefore in which the Lydian monarch carried on the war was thus. Marching into the Milesian territory a little before harvest, with all military pomp, to the sound of various musical instruments, he cut down all the corn, and destroyed all the vines, olives, and other valuable trees; sparing the buildings, that the people might have the better means of cultivating fresh harvests for him to carry off or destroy. The Milesians, venturing to take the field for the protection of their property, suffered two considerable defeats. The war however continued eleven years

⁵ The space of only three years, allowed by Usher, between the Scythian irruption and the Milesian war, is inconsistent with the narration of Herodotus. Newton has not marked the date of the Milesian war; but, according to other circumstances which he has marked, it might have begun about the fiftieth Olympiad, where Herodotus's account would nearly bring it.

from its commencement under Sadyattes, and still SECT.
I.
the Milesians obstinately defended themselves. In
the twelfth year, Halyattes, being seized with a dan-
gerous illness, was agitated with superstitious fear
on account of the accidental burning of a temple of
Minerva by his ravaging troops; and the Milesians,
making advantage of this circumstance, procured a
peace.

Crœsus son of Halyattes still advanced the power
of the Lydian monarchy. He made all the Asian Herodot.
L. 1. c. 26.
& seq.
Greeks tributary; and, excepting Lycia and Cilicia,
was master of the whole of Asia Minor, as far as the
Halys. According to remaining report he was an
able and virtuous prince, not less generally beloved
than feared; so that the Asian Greeks, finding their
condition far from worse for their subjection to
such a monarch, who allowed them the enjoyment of
their own laws and constitution, with the whole in-
ternal regulation of their little commonwealths, be-
came attached to him as subjects to their legal here-
ditary sovereign.⁶ There had long been intercourse

⁶ This appears from the tenor of Herodotus's narration, and receives confirmation from Thucydides, who says that the Ionians flourished greatly and were very powerful till they were reduced by Cyrus, after he had conquered Crœsus * Pindar's concise but emphatical eulogy speaks also strongly to the same purpose. The passage is remarkable :

- - - 'Οπιθόμεθρον αἴ-
χημα δόξας,
Ολον ἀποιχομένων ἀν-
δρῶν διαιταν μακέι
Καὶ λογίους καὶ ἀοιδοῖς.
ΟΤ ΦΘΙΝΕΙ ΚΡΟΙΣΟΤ ΦΙΛΟΦΡΩΝ ΑΡΕΤΑ.
Τὸν δὲ ταύρῳ χαλκέῳ καυ-
τῆρα, νηλέα νόσον,
'Εχθρὰ Φάλαριν κατέχει παντᾶ φάτις.
Οὐδέ μιν φόρμιγγες ὑπώ-

* Thucyd. I. 1. c. 16

CHAP. VI. between Lydia and the continent of Greece. As a mart, Sardis was an object for all nations within reach. Superstition chiefly seems to have led the Lydians to Greece: the reputation of the Delphian oracle was high among them, and many presents from Lydian monarchs were principal ornaments of its shrine. Midas, son of Gordias king of Phrygia, was, according to Herodotus, the first foreigner who ever sent a present thither; and after him Gyges king of Lydia. But whether the treasures sent to be placed

*εόφιαι κοινωνίαν
Μαλθακὰν παῖδων δάροισι δέχονται.
Τὸ δὲ παθεῖν εὖ πρώτον ἀθλῶν.
Εὖ δ' ἀκούειν δευτέρα μοι-
ροῦ· ἀμφοτέροισι δ' ἀνὴρ
Ὄσ δὲ ἐγκίησῃ καὶ ἔλη,
Στέφανον ὑψιστον δέδεκται.*

Pindar. Pyth. I.

When in the mouldering urn the monarch lies,
His fame in lively characters remains;
Or graved in monumental histories,
Or deck'd and painted in Aonian strains.
Thus fresh and fragrant and immortal blooms
The virtue, CROESUS, of thy gentle mind:
While fate to infamy and hatred dooms
Sicilia's tyrant, scorn of human kind;
Whose ruthless bosom swell'd with cruel pride,
When in his brazen bull the broiling wretches died.
Him therefore nor in sweet society
The generous youth conversing ever name,
Nor with the harp's delightful melody
Mingle his odious inharmonious fame.
The first, the greatest bliss on man conferr'd,
Is in the acts of virtue to excel;
The second, to obtain their high reward,
The soul-exalting praise of doing well.
Who both these lots attains is blest indeed,
Since fortune here below can give no richer meed.

WEST's Translation.

In Pindar's youth the fame of Croesus was recent. The selection of him therefore for example of a virtuous and beneficent prince, fittest to be named in opposition to a detested tyrant, is strong testimony.

under the protection of the god, at Delphi and other temples, were all intended as gifts, has been already mentioned as doubtful. In after-times those shrines, which were held in any extensive respect, afforded a highly valuable resource for the possessors of moveable wealth in a state of the world when possession of moveable, and indeed of any wealth, was so generally precarious. They were resorted to as banks; the reputed sanctity of the places affording, for treasures deposited, a security beyond any to be found elsewhere. Scanty as remaining information on the subject is, it seems reasonable to conclude that depositors, on withdrawing the whole or any portion, paid largely for the benefit. The wealth that Crœsus sent to Delphi is described as consisting in large part of what are called bricks, or tiles, in modern phrase ingots, of gold. Hardly would wealth be placed there in that form merely for ostentation. Crœsus, apparently partial to the Greeks, encouraged men of genius and learning of that nation in his court.⁷ He was however an ambitious prince. Master of the whole western coast of Asia Minor, with all its shipping, he had the means of becoming a more formidable naval power than had yet been known in the world. Already the islands trembled for their independency; and Greece itself was not without apprehension, when events in another quarter called all the attention of the Lydian monarch.

SECT. I.

⁷ The first five lines of the quotation from Pindar in the foregoing note, being introductory to the mention of Crœsus, appear to indicate that the Grecian poets, as well as the sophists mentioned by Herodotus, were not without a due share of that prince's favor; if indeed the historian did not mean to include poets under the term sophist. It should follow that, if pure Greek was not the common language of Sardis, it was however familiarly understood in Crœsus's court.

Herodot.

l. 1. c. 50.

l. 1. c. 29.

l. 1. c. 27.

CHAP.
VI.

Though accounts of the countries about the river Euphrates go farther into antiquity than those of any other upon earth, yet we scarcely know when there was not a large and polished empire there. Of other countries which have possessed science, arts, and letters, we learn whence science, arts, and particularly whence letters, have come to them; but no trace appears of their existence in any other country prior to their flourishing in CHALDÆA. However also the wonders of BABYLON may have been exaggerated by some writers, we have yet sufficient testimony to its having been a city of extraordinary magnitude, population, wealth, and magnificence, when scarcely elsewhere in the world a city existed. The ASSYRIAN EMPIRE, of which it was the metropolis, became divided by a revolt of the northern provinces. Babylon remained the capital of the southern part, still called Assyria: the northern formed an extensive kingdom under the name of MEDIA. To the south of Media, and east of Assyria, separated by lofty mountains, was a country so inferior as to extent and population, that hitherto it had been of little weight or consideration. But, during the reign of Croesus in Lydia, a prince of extraordinary abilities, named Cyrus, arose among the Persians. Grecian accounts concerning this very eminent person differ greatly. Those however which, for the character of their authors, deserve most respect, are also most consonant to what is found in holy writ. According to these Cyrus was son of Cambyses, king of Persia, by his queen Mandane, daughter of Astyages, king of Media, in failure of whose male issue he succeeded to the sovereignty of that powerful kingdom; possibly, and even probably, not without contest in arms, to which alone some ancient writers attributed the

acquisition. All following history however shows SECT.
that Media never, like the extensive provinces after- I.
ward acquired, was treated as a conquered country.
The Medes and Persians are always mentioned as of
equal privilege, and in effect as one people. Thus be-
come greatly powerful, Cyrus, whether for justifiable
cause or not we are uninformed, led his arms against
Assyria, and so successfully as to threaten its over-
throw. Crœsus was alarmed at his growing power
and fame. It was obvious policy to support the
Assyrian monarch, and endeavour to hold the balance
between him and the Persian. Yet either the attempt
or the neglect might be fatal; and human wisdom
could only decide upon the probability. Anxious
for surer grounds, and full of the superstition of his
age, he tried all the more celebrated oracles known
to the Greeks for advice and information. His pre-
sents to Delphi were in such amount as to induce
the Delphians to decree to the king and people of
Lydia precedence in the consultation of the oracle,⁸
with privilege for any Lydian to become at pleasure
a Delphian citizen. Such preference to a foreigner,
in a business which must have been under the con-
trol of the Amphictyonic council, proves strongly
the respect of the Greeks for Crœsus, and perhaps
their fear of him. Yet the managers of the oracle,
always provident of its reputation, could by no means
be induced to prophesy any success to him in a war
with Persia. To all his interrogatories on the subject
they gave answers so doubtful and elusive that what-
soever part he might take, and whatsoever might be
the event, the credit of the oracle would be safe. The

⁸ Προμαντῆτην καὶ ἀτελητῆν καὶ προεδρίην. Herod. l. 1. c. 54.
What precisely these privileges and honors were, may be dif-
ficult to determine.

OL. 57. 1. unhappy prince, after much hesitation, at length determined upon war. He led his army beyond the boundary of his own dominion, the river Halys, into the Assyrian provinces. Cyrus, leaving Assyria to his generals, marched against him, and one great battle decided the fate of Lydia. Cyrus was victorious, and, pursuing his march to Sardis, made Crœsus prisoner, and his kingdom a province of the Persian empire.

B. C.
554. N.
OL. 58. 1.
B. C.
548. B.

Herodot.
I. 1. c. 141. While the issue of the war remained yet uncertain Cyrus had endeavoured to gain the Grecian cities in Asia Minor; but they adhered to their engagements with the Lydian king. The full success therefore of the Persian arms could not but be highly alarming to them. Immediately the Ionians sent to offer submission upon the same terms on which they had been subject to Crœsus. The Milesians alone were admitted to so much favor. The others were told that, having refused those terms when offered, they must abide the consequences. To repair and improve fortifications, and provide for several defence, became the earnest care of every city. But common danger produced common care, and the Panionian assembly was summoned to concert measures for general defence. Comparing their own force however with that of the Persian monarchy, successful resistance appeared hopeless. In this extremity they turned their thoughts to their parent country, with which they had never yet had any close political connexion. Hope therefore of disposition to hazard engaging in their defence would be little, had ability to protect them been more within view. Nevertheless, Greece holding then some political union, under the lead of Lacedæmon, they sent a supplicatory embassy to that state. But it was never the character of the

Spartan government to be forward in hazardous enterprise. The Ionians could obtain no promise of assistance; some Spartans only were appointed to accompany them in their return, to inquire into the truth of the alarming accounts given of the Persian power, and endeavour to learn the farther designs of the conquering monarch. They went to the Persian court at Sardis; and the account given by Herodotus, Herod. 1. 1.
c. 152. 153. with his usual simplicity, of what passed at an audience to which Cyrus admitted them, marks just the contempt which might be expected, in the conqueror of Asia, for the little republics of Greece. A republic indeed was probably a new idea to him. He told the Spartans, ‘That he could not be afraid of people ‘who had squares in the middle of their towns, in ‘which they met to swear and deceive one another;’ alluding to the agora, which was, in most of the Grecian cities, the place equally for the common market, the general assembly, and the great court of justice: and he concluded with a threat, ‘That it ‘might come to their turn to lament their own sub-‘jection, and they would better not interfere in his ‘concerns with the Ionians.’ The war with Assyria was an object of other importance. Marching therefore himself eastward, he left the Greeks to his lieutenants.

It was a practice of this great prince to leave a 1. 3. c. 15. considerable share in the administration of conquered countries to the natives. He committed a high office at Sardis to Pactyas, a Lydian, who took a very early 1. 1. c. 153. opportunity to show himself unworthy of the trust reposed in him. Cyrus was scarcely gone when he managed a revolt, became master of the town at Sardis, and besieged the Persian governor in the citadel. Cyrus did not think even this a circumstance

CHAP. VI. to require the intermission of his march against Assyria. He detached a part only of his army against the rebel, who appears to have been very unequal to the greatness of his attempt; for, according to Herodotus, without any farther effort, he fled to the Grecian town of Cuma, where probably he had claim of hospitality. The Persian general sent to demand him. The Cumæans, between fear of the vengeance of so mighty a potentate, and unwillingness to incur the disgrace of betraying a received suppliant, which they expected would also draw on them the anger of the gods, were greatly at a loss. The neighbouring oracle of Apollo at Branchidæ, then in high repute among the Asian Greeks, was their resource. This story, also related by Herodotus with a simplicity evincing truth, while it characterizes both the religion and the politics of the times, affords a remarkable specimen of the subjects upon which oracles were consulted, and of the subterfuges of the managers to preserve their credit. The question of the Cumæans was not a little distressing. To advise any opposition to the Persian power would have put the credit of the oracle to the highest risk. But to betray an admitted suppliant was held among the Greeks in no less a measure offensive to the gods and infamous among men. This however the oracle unwarily directed. Aristodicus, a man eminent among the citizens of Cuma, whether influenced by party-views or by friendship for Pactyas, or by honest indignation at the unworthy deed prescribed, as under divine authority, to his fellow-citizens, publicly declared his doubt of the answer reported from the oracle, and insisted that the prayer should be repeated to the god, and persons of unquestionable credit commissioned to bring the response. He prevailed, and

Herodot.

I. I. c. 156.
& seq.

was himself appointed of the number. The answer was still as before, That the Cumæans should deliver up Pactyas. Aristodicus, not thus satisfied, searching around the temple, purposely disturbed some nests of sparrows and other birds, which in that situation, according to the tenets of Grecian superstition, were under the particular protection of the deity of the place. A voice was presently heard from the inmost recess of the building, ‘O most unholy of men! how ‘darest thou thus violate my suppliants?’ Aristodicus replied, ‘O sovereign power! dost thou thus ‘protect thy suppliants, yet commandest the Cu-‘mæans to give up their suppliant?’ ‘Yes,’ returned the voice, ‘I command it: that so you, the sooner ‘perishing, may no more consult oracles about be-‘traying suppliants.’ This reply answered the purpose both of the oracle and of Aristodicus; but not so of the Cumæans. The credit of the oracle, not only for truth, but in some measure for justice also, was saved; but the Cumæans, fearing equal destruction whether they betrayed Pactyas or attempted his protection, sought to avoid the danger by a middle course, and furnished him with means of escaping to Mitylene in Lesbos. There it was hoped he might be safe: for as the Persians were utterly unconversant in marine affairs, and no maritime state was yet added to their dominion, the Grecian islands were thought in no immediate danger. But the Mitylenæans, equally regardless of their honor, and fearless of divine vengeance, only considered how they might most profit by the conjuncture. They entered into a negotiation to deliver up Pactyas for a stipulated price. His Cumæan friends, informed of this, farther assisted him with means for escaping to Chios. But the Chiens, no less infamously mercenary than the

CHAP. VI. Mitylenæans, sold him to the Persian for a small tract of land on the continent over against their island; and, to execute their agreement, scrupled not to violate the sanctuary of Minerva, the tutelary goddess of their state, whither he had fled as a sure asylum.

Herodot. I. 1. c. 161. The Persian general meanwhile overran the rich vales of the Maeander and of Magnesia, and gave the plunder to his soldiers. He took the town of Priene, and sold all the inhabitants for slaves. He was proceeding thus violently to execute his commission for subduing the Grecian possessions when sickness stopped his course, and death soon followed. Harpagus, his successor in command, began his administration with the siege of Phocæa. The Phocæans had been remarkable for their early and successful application to maritime affairs. They, first of the Greeks, undertook long voyages, and made known **I. 1. c. 163.** to their fellow-countrymen the shores of the Adriatic, and the coasts of Tuscany and Spain. Becoming rich by commerce, they had fortified their town, which was large, in a manner superior to what was then common. But the Persian force, directed by the skill of Harpagus, was too great for them to resist. This general made his approaches in a method analogous to that now in use; with just the difference which the fortification and arms of his age required. No weapons of that time could prevent him from breaking ground near the town ditch: to his trenches he added a lofty rampart; and, as he approached, he filled the ditch and then formed a mound against the town wall, upon which his people might mount for storming. The Phocæans, hard pressed, obtained a truce for a day, upon pretence of considering about a capitulation. Putting then their families and most **OI. 60. 2. B. C. 539. B.**

valuable effects aboard their vessels, they escaped to Chios, whilst the Persian took possession of the empty town.

SECT.
I.

The Phocæans wanted only a seaport and security: the rest their activity would supply. They desired therefore to buy the little islands called Cœnussæ, lying between Chios and the main; but the Chiens, jealous of an interference in trade, refused to sell them. About twenty years before, a Phocæan colony had been founded in Corsica, with the name of Alalia, and thither the fugitives now determined to direct their course. But, in their way, actuated by that spirit of revenge which naturally embittered war, when death, slavery, or expatriation were the only alternatives to the vanquished, they suddenly turned upon Phocæa, and probably finding the Persian garrison both weak and unprepared, they put the whole to the sword, though without any hope or thought of holding the place. After this useless massacre, imprecating solemn curses on any of their number who should desert their expedition, and all taking an oath never to return to Phocæa, they steered for Corsica. Nevertheless, stimulated by regret for their native country, and dread of their new undertaking, more than half returned; and, though how they made their peace with the Persian we are not informed, it seems implied that they obtained admission. Of the rest, after various chances, a part settled the town of Hyela, afterward called Helea, and Velia, in Italy. But the fairer fortune of the larger part seems not to have been known in Greece in Herodotus's time. What drove them beyond their first object, Corsica, we do not learn; but, proceeding northward, they found on the Gallic shore a port singularly commodious for vessels adapted to the navigation of the

Herodot.
l. 1. c. 163.
& Strabo,
l. 6. p. 532.
Pausan.
l. 10. c. 8.
Thucyd.
l. 1. c. 13.
Isocrat.
Archid.
p. 68. t. 2.
Strabo,
l. 4. p. 179.

CHAP. VI. Mediterranean. A territory around, little fruitful, was probably little the care of surrounding barbarians, while the port would afford the opportunity, which the Greeks especially desired, for communication with all the world, beyond the ability of barbarians to interrupt. Thus Massilia became a rich and powerful maritime commonwealth. Its naval victory over the Carthaginians, reported by Thucydides, proves its early strength. The Grecian names ^{Thucyd. ubi sup.} ^{Strabo, l. 4. p. 180. 184.} Antipolis, Nicæa, Monœcus, (now Antibes, Nizza, or Nice, and Monaco,) eastward, and Agatha, (now Agde,) westward in Gaul, and Rhodus, Aphrodision, ^{1. 3. p. 159.} Emporeion, Hemeroscopeion in Spain, mark the extent of its maritime dependencies. Rhodus, now Roses, ^{1. 14. p. 654.} in Catalonia, founded by Rhodians, was brought under the dominion of the Massilians. Hemeroscopeion received afterward from the Romans the name of Dianium. The neglect of the admirable harbour of Toulon, with the labors afterward of the Romans to make Forum Julii, now Frejus, a naval arsenal, which has ceased for centuries to be a seaport, mark the difference between ancient and modern navigation.

The Teians, next attacked by Harpagus, followed the example of Phocæa. Sailing to Thrace, they founded the town of Abdera. The other Asian Greeks, finding their walls would not enable them singly to resist the Persian power, resolved together to try the event of a battle. Being defeated they submitted to the conqueror on his own terms, which seem to have been milder than might have been expected from the former Persian general. Harpagus, proceeding from Ionia through Lycia into Caria, brought the whole of Asia Minor under the Persian dominion.

Cyrus meanwhile was no less successful in greater OI. 60. 3.
 enterprise in Upper Asia. By that siege of Babylon, B. C. 538.
 famous equally in profane and sacred history, he
 became master of Assyria. Having thus acquired a
 dominion far more extensive than had before been
 known in the world, the wisdom of his remaining
 years was employed to model the many nations which
 owned subjection to him into one regular empire.
 Far however we are from having that certain and
 complete information concerning the transactions of
 this great prince, either in war or peace, that were
 desirable; but upon the whole it appears that his laws
 and political institutions were directed by a supe-
 riority of genius equal to that which guided him to
 conquest; and, what principally makes the want of
 an authentic history of him to be regretted, he af-
 forded the example, followed only by one of the
 many conquerors by whom it has been the fate of
 that large and rich portion of the world to be over-
 run, of a benefactor to mankind, a father to all his
 people, to the conquered hardly less than to his
 fellow-conquerors.⁹

⁹ Æschylus, in his tragedy of the Persians, has borne testi-
 mony to the virtues of Cyrus in a short but emphatical pane-
 gyric:

- - - - Κύρος, εὐδαίμων ἀνὴρ,
 Ἀρξας ἔθηκε πᾶσιν εἰρήνην φίλοις·
 Λυδῶν δὲ λαὸν καὶ Φρυγῶν ἐκτήσατο,
 Ἰωνίαν τε πᾶσαν ἤλασεν βίᾳ.
 Θεὸς γὰρ οὐκ ἥχθηρεν, ὡς εὐφρων ἔφυ.

p. 262. edit. H. Steph.

This passage strongly indicates that the strange story told by Herodotus of the death of Cyrus, if ever heard of, was not commonly received in Greece in the poet's time; and though, as far as I have observed, unnoticed by modern writers, should add considerable weight to the opinions which give the preference to Xenophon's more probable account. Herodotus indeed

SECTION II.

Accession of Cambyses to the throne of Persia. Acquisition of Tyre and conquest of Egypt by the Persians. Accession of Darius. Constitution of the Persian empire: Persian religion.

CHAP.
VI.

OL. 62. 4.
B. C. 529.
N. and B.

Strabo,
1. 17. p. 819.

Cyrus was succeeded in this great empire by his son Cambyses; whose temper, which led him to emulate his father rather in military than in civil virtues, gave occasion to all neighbouring nations to dread the force of which he was become absolute disposer. His first object was the conquest of EGYPT. That country, as we have before observed, had been, from times of highest antiquity, a populous, well-regulated, wealthy, and polished kingdom. Divided from all surrounding nations by natural boundaries of singular strength, it had been little exposed to foreign invasion. Yet the Egyptian monarchs had always been of great political consequence. They interfered frequently in the affairs of Arabia and Palestine. This led to transactions, in war and in peace, with Assyria. But a vast desert divided the two monarchies; and the countries disputed by their arms were mostly far distant from the seat of govern-

has prefaced his narrative with a confession that it was dubious, and that he had only selected it from among various contradictory reports. The mention of Cyrus, in Isocrates's encomium of Evagoras, may also seem to indicate that it did not gain any very extensive credit. The testimony of Isocrates corresponds with that of Æschylus: Ἀλλὰ μὴν τῶν γε ἐπειτα γεγενημένων, ἵσως δὲ τῶν ἀπάντων, Κῦρον, τὸν Μῆδων μὲν ἀφελόμενον τὴν ἀρχὴν, Πέρσας δὲ κτησάμενον, οἱ πλεῖστοι καὶ μάλιστα θαυμάζοντιν, κ. τ. λ. Isocrates's subject could hardly have failed to lead him to notice the final failure of the fortune of Cyrus, had it in his time had any general credit. Iso-cr. Evag. laud. p. 292. t. 2. ed. Auger.

ment of either. Egypt itself therefore, in a peace ^{SECT.} _{III.} seldom interrupted, cultivated science and arts; and under Amasis, contemporary with Cyrus, so florished in riches and population that, according to Herodotus, it contained twenty thousand towns. We have sufficient assurance that some of those towns were of extraordinary extent and magnificence. Even in its miserable state in modern times, suffering, as it has been for centuries, under a kind of constitutional anarchy, Egypt remained wonderfully populous, abounding in towns and villages; and Cairo, not a century ago, was said to have above seven hundred thousand inhabitants. Anciently Egypt was the school of Greece: those who desired to improve themselves in knowledge went to Egypt; and a Greek derived reputation from the mere circumstance of having been in that polished country.

About a century before the reign of Amasis, a c. 152. civil war in Egypt had given occasion to the establishment of a Grecian colony there. On a failure of the ancient royal line, twelve chiefs had divided the sovereignty. One of them, Psammitichus, pressed by the rest, engaged in his service some piratical Grecian adventurers from Ionia and Caria; and with their assistance became monarch of Egypt. This is the first instance recorded of that practice, not less common afterward among the Greeks than since among the Swiss, of letting their valor and skill in arms for hire. Psammitichus thought it prudent to retain for his support those by whom he had acquired his throne. He settled his auxiliary Greeks on some lands which he gave them, near the sea, on each side of the Pelusian, the eastermost branch of the Nile, and he encouraged their commerce with their mother-country. Hence the communication between Egypt c. 154.

CHAP. VI. and Greece became familiar, and thus first any accurate knowledge of Egypt came to the Greeks. Probably the ancient constitution of the country suffered by this revolution. The power of the great families would be reduced; some of them perhaps extinguished: and a monarch who reigned by an army of foreign mercenaries could scarcely exist but through the maintenance of absolute dominion. The sceptre of Psammitichus, thus supported, descended to his posterity. But Apries, his great-grandson, was de-throned, and Amasis, a private Egyptian, acquired the sovereignty.

*Herodot.
I. 2. c. 162.*

c. 166.

In Egypt all persons being strictly confined by law to the profession of their ancestors, all the descendants of the Grecian mercenaries were born soldiers. Amasis imitated and extended the policy of Psammitichus. He removed the Grecian families to Memphis, his capital, and formed from them his body-guard. Encouraging thus the farther resort of Greeks to Egypt, he allotted for their residence and possession the town and territory of Naucratis, near the mouth of the Canobian, the westermost branch of the Nile, now called Albekeer,¹⁰ and recently become illustrious through the singularly glorious victory obtained thereby by the British fleet over the French. Amasis indulged the Greeks so far as to allow them to build temples, and have their processions and other religious ceremonies after the manner of their own country. Most of the Asian Greeks had accordingly temples there: of the people of old Greece, the Æginetans

¹⁰ The French corruption and orthography of this Arabic name has been adopted by our government, whence, against the better practice of our most learned and respectable travel-writers, it is now commonly written ‘Aboukir;’ far less indicating to English readers what should be the pronunciation.

only are mentioned. But farther to cultivate a general interest through the Greek nation, Amasis, when the temple of Delphi was burnt, made a large present to the Amphictyons toward its restoration.

SECT.
II.

This able prince died at a very advanced age, during the preparations in Persia for the invasion of his country. He was succeeded by his son Psammenitus, who seems to have suffered for want of his father's advantage of having been bred in a private situation. Through some mismanagement apparently in those who guided his councils, Phanes,^{Herodot. 1. 3. c. 4.} a Halicarnassian, high in command in the Grecian troops, and of considerable abilities, took disgust at the Egyptian service, and went over to the Persian. The approach to Egypt from Asia with a large army, even no enemy opposing, is, from the nature of the intervening country, difficult. The Persians were utterly unversed in marine affairs; but they had absolute command ^{1. 2. c. 1.} of whatever the Asian Greeks could supply. Tyre moreover, originally a colony from Sidon, but risen to a superiority, both in commerce and political consequence, above the parent-city, so as to become the first maritime power in the world, was under his dominion. It had been subdued about fifty years before by Nabuchodonosor king of Assyria. The Tyrians therefore gladly passed under the sovereignty of Persia, and seem to have obtained favorable terms. The Cyprian Greeks had also sought safety by voluntary submission; and all these people contributed to form the fleet and army which were to go against Egypt. Yet all the formidable force that the Persian monarch could raise might have failed, but for the exact knowledge of the country, and the approaches to it, which Phanes brought. The army must pass ^{1. 3. c. 19.} & seq. through a part of the Desert Arabia. Under the

CHAP. VI. direction of Phanes the friendship of an independent Arabian chief, such as yet hold that country in defiance of all the power of Turkey, was purchased; and through his assistance the troops were supplied with provisions, and what was still more difficult, with water.¹¹ Thus a most formidable obstacle was overcome without loss, and the army met the fleet before Pelusium, on the eastermost branch of the Nile, which, in the greatest part of its course, washes the edge of the desert. That key of Egypt was taken after a short siege: Psammenitus was defeated in a great battle; and the whole country quickly submitted to the conqueror. The neighbouring Africans, and among the rest the Greeks of Cyrene and Barca, sent offers of submission and tribute, which were accepted.

c. 17. Herodot. I. 3 c. 13. Cambyses, flushed with success beyond expectation, would immediately proceed to farther conquest. Herodotus says that he proposed at the same time to make war upon the Ethiopians, Ammonians, and Carthaginians. Carthage, a colony from Tyre, emulating the mother-country in commerce, was become equal, or superior, in naval power. But the Tyrians showed such extreme aversion to assist in a war against those whom they termed their children that Cambyses was persuaded to desist from that enterprise. He chose to go in person against Ethiopia. Without seeing an

¹¹ In describing this country and its people, little known to the Greeks in general, who from all their settlements made the passage to Egypt by sea, Herodotus gives one strong instance, among many, of the accuracy as well as the extent of his information, and of his fidelity in reporting it. To the correctness of his account of Egypt one of the most intelligent and accurate of modern travellers, Volney, who investigated that country as far as its modern state would permit, has given repeated testimony.

enemy, he lost more than half his army in the desert, and returned. His conduct ever since the conquest of Egypt had been that of a merciless and frantic tyrant, his wildness often approaching madness. He is said to have died in the eighth year of his reign, of an accidental wound from his own sword. The Grecian accounts however of these distant transactions, especially of those not by their nature of very public notoriety, are probably not very exact. A Magian, we are told, usurped the Persian throne, pretending to be the younger son of Cyrus, escaped from assassination, by which, at the command of Cambyses, the real prince had perished. It will not be necessary to repeat the well-known story of the conspiracy of the seven chiefs, the death of the usurper, and the elevation of Darius to the throne by the neighing of his horse. It suffices for the purpose of this history that Darius, said to have been of the royal family of Persia, but not descended from Cyrus, became sovereign of the empire.¹²

This prince was a successor not unworthy of that great monarch. His principal object seems to have been to complete and improve the plan traced by Cyrus for the administration of his vast dominion. What we ought to attribute to one, and what to the other, cannot now be ascertained; nor do we learn, with the accuracy that might be desired, the par-

¹² Æschylus, in his tragedy of the Persians, gives a more numerous catalogue of kings, reigning between Cambyses and Cyrus, than Herodotus, whose account has been generally followed. Possibly among the names are those of pretenders who never were acknowledged sovereigns of the empire.* Thucydides, on the contrary, and Plato, omitting all mention of the usurpation, speak of Darius as reigning next after Cambyses.†

* Plat. on Legisl. b. 3. p. 695. v. 2.

† Thucyd. I. 1. c. 14. Plat. Menex. p. 239. t. 2.

CHAP. VI. ticulars of the system finally established. But many circumstances contribute to show that, upon the whole, it was directed with admirable wisdom; insomuch that those nations, to whom despotic government seems congenial, have perhaps never since been so happy as under Persian rule. The original Persian constitution, according to Plato, was a mixed monarchy.¹³ The Median was probably more despotic. The conquered were however of course to obey the conqueror. To provide for due obedience, the whole empire was divided into large provinces, called satrapies, each under the superintendence of a great officer entitled satrap, to whom all governors of towns and smaller districts were responsible; but without being dependent on him for their appointment or removal, which were immediate from the monarch. Thus the superior and inferior governors were each a check upon the other. That the affairs of the empire might be administered with regularity and certain dispatch, and that information might constantly and speedily pass between the capital and the remotest provinces, an establishment was made, imperfectly resembling the modern post: the business of government alone was its object, without any regard to commercial intercourse, or the convenience of individuals. This appears however to have been the first model of that institution which now, through the liberal system of European politics, and the ascendant which Europe has acquired in the affairs of the world, extends communication so wonderfully

¹³ Πέρσαι γὰρ, ὅτε μὲν τὸ μέτριον μᾶλλον δουλείας τε καὶ ἐλευθερίας ἥγον ἐπὶ Κύρου, πρῶτον μὲν αὐτῷ ἐλεύθεροι ἐγενούτο, ἔπειτα δὲ ἀλλων πολλῶν δεσπόται. Ἐλευθερίας γὰρ ἀρχοντες μεταδιδόντες ἀρχομένοις, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἵσον ἄγοντες, μᾶλλον φίλοι τε ἥσαν σρατιῶται στρατηγοῖς, κ. τ. λ. Plat. de Leg. l. 3. p. 694. t. 2.

over the globe. Judging from what we learn of the Grecian cities under the Persian dominion, and Plato in a great degree confirms it, the provinces generally were allowed, for their interior administration, each to retain its own municipal law. The Persian laws, pervading the empire, were probably few and simple; more in the nature of fundamental maxims than of a finished system of jurisprudence. Thus that inflexible rule, that the Persian law was never in any point to be altered, might be a salutary restraint upon despotism, upon the caprice of the prince, and upon the tyranny or avarice of his officers, without preventing entirely the adapting of practice to changes of times and circumstances. Darius regulated the revenue of his empire, composed of the richest kingdoms in the world. In apportioning the imposts and directing their collection, he is said to have shown great ability and great moderation; yet, so difficult is it for rulers to avoid censure, whenever private convenience must yield in the least to public necessity, the Persians, forming a comparison of their three first emperors, called Cyrus the father, Cambyses the master, Darius the broker of the empire. Master, it must be observed, among the ancients implied the relation, not, as with us, to hired servants, but to slaves.¹⁴

Herodot.
I. 3. c. 89.
Plutarch.
Apophth.

¹⁴ Aeschylus, throughout his tragedy of the Persians, bears most honorable testimony to the character and administration of Darius, particularly in the chorus, p. 166. ed. H. Steph.

*Ω πόποι, η μεγάλας
Αγαθᾶς τε πολιστονόμου βιοτᾶς
Ἐπεκύρσαμεν, εῦθ' δ γηραιὸς
Πανταρχῆς, ἀκέκας,
Ἄμαχος βασιλεὺς ἰσθθεος
Δαρεῖος ἀρχε χώρας.
Πρῶτα μὲν εὐδοκίμου
Στρατᾶς ἀπεφαινόμεθ', ηδὲ νόμι-
μα τὰ πόργυνα πάντ' ἐπεύθυνον, κ. τ. λ.*

CHAP.
VI.

Gibbon's
Hist. of
the Roman
Empire,
vol. I. c. 8.

The Persians were by nothing more remarkably or more honorably distinguished from surrounding nations, and particularly from the Greeks, than by their Religion. It were beyond the purpose of a Grecian history to enlarge upon the theology of Zoroaster, which, as a most ingenious and indefatigable inquirer has observed, ‘was darkly comprehended by foreigners, and even by the far greater number of his disciples.’ It were equally beyond our object here to discuss the much disputed questions, When Zoroaster lived, and whether he was really the founder of the religion, the author of its sublime precepts and enlarged view of the Divine nature, or only the regulator of the Magian worship, and institutor of the innumerable ceremonies with which it became encumbered and disgraced. It may

and Plato speaks of him in nearly corresponding terms, in Menexenus, p. 239. t. 2. and the third Dialogue on Legislation, p. 695.

Herodotus has undertaken to give an account, in some detail, of the produce of the Persian taxes: on what authority we are not informed. But we know that it is even now, with all the freedom of communication through modern Europe, extremely difficult to acquire information, at all approaching to exactness, of the revenue, and, still more, of the resources of neighbouring states. Richardson, in his Dissertation on the Languages, &c. of the East, has observed that the revenue of Persia, according to Herodotus’s account, was very unequal to the expenses of such an expedition as that attributed to Xerxes; and therefore, he says, Herodotus must stand convicted of falsehood in one case or the other. Unprejudiced persons will have little difficulty to choose their belief. The principal circumstances of the expedition fell necessarily under the eyes of thousands. The revenue could be known to very few, and the resources probably to none. Yet a very acute inquirer into ancient politics has observed, that valuable information is derived from Herodotus’s account of the Persian revenue. Gibbon’s History of the Roman Empire, v. 1. c. 8. note 1. and v. 2. c. 24.

however be proper to advert briefly to the strong contrast between the Persian religion and the Greek, which, as the same able writer remarks, was such that it could not escape the most careless observer. It appears to have struck forcibly the inquisitive mind of Herodotus, who, with all the prejudices of polytheism about him, has in few words marked it so accurately that, after every subsequent account of ancient authors, and every discussion of modern, very nice distinction only can convict him of any error.

'These,' says Herodotus, 'I have found to be the tenets of the Persians. They hold it unlawful to erect images, temples, and altars, and impute to folly such practices in others: because, as it appears to me, they do not, like the Greeks, think the gods of the same nature or from the same origin with men. The summits of mountains they esteem the places most proper for sacrifice to the supreme Deity; and the whole circle of the heavens they call God. They sacrifice besides to the sun, the moon, the earth, fire, water, and the winds. In addressing the Deity it is forbidden to solicit for blessings to themselves individually; the prayer must extend to the whole Persian nation.' Strabo adds, among matters distinguishing their religion from the Greek, that the meat of animals sacrificed was wholly distributed among the attending people; it being reckoned that the Deity required nothing but the soul. Such indeed are the religious tenets which have been commonly attributed to the Persians. But the Persians themselves, of every age, as the historian of the Roman empire proceeds to observe, have denied that they extend divine honors beyond the One Supreme Being, and have explained the equivocal conduct which has given occasion to

Herod. I. 1.
c. 131. 132.

Strabo,
l. 16.

Gibbon's
History,
vol. I. c. 8.

CHAP. VI. strangers continually to charge them with polytheism :
 ‘ The elements, and more particularly Fire, Light,
 ‘ and the Sun, were the objects of their religious re-
 ‘ verence, because they considered them as the purest
 ‘ symbols, the noblest productions, and the most
 ‘ powerful agents of the Divine Power and Nature.’

SECTION III.

Conquest of Thrace, and invasion of European Scythia by Darius. Submission of Macedonia to the Persian empire. State of the Ægean islands, and history of Polycrates tyrant of Samos. Situation of the Grecian people under the Persian dominion.

The great states which had hitherto swayed the politics of the civilized world, and balanced one-another, were Assyria, Media, Lydia, Egypt. Armenia had also sometimes been of consequence ; and Tyre, with a territory of small extent, yet respectable through wealth acquired by commerce, and naval strength, the consequence of commerce, like Holland in modern times, had been usually courted by the greatest monarchs. Carthage was already a rising power, but distant. Greece was yet of little political consideration. Separated into so many small independent states, often hostile to each other, and never united by any effectual and lasting tie, each by itself, among the transactions of great nations, appeared utterly insignificant. Assyria, Media, Lydia, Armenia, Egypt, Tyre, with all their dependencies, were now united under one vast empire. There appeared thus in the world scarcely an object for the Persian arms ; and it might be expected that a prince, wise like Darius, yet not particularly endowed with the genius of a conqueror, would remain satisfied

with such dominions, without desiring more, or fearing that any foreign power could make them less.

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But such is the nature of man that prosperity itself produces disquiet. Peace, internal and external, is not always within the power of the wisest prince; the choice of evils only is left to him; and, though despotic chief of a state the most dreaded by neighbouring nations, he may be under a necessity to make war. Thus it seems to have been with Darius. The Persians had been accustomed to respect, in their sovereigns, first their right of inheritance, then their character as conquerors. Ambitious spirits, long used to military activity, could ill bear rest: and the gains of conquest would not soon be forgotten by the greedy. All circumstances therefore considered, it may have been much more a matter of necessity than of choice for Darius to seek for a war to wage.

Of all the nations surrounding the Persian empire, Thucyd. 1. 2. c. 97. the wild people of the frozen regions of Scythia could alone be esteemed formidable to it. Darius resolved to lead an army against them by the western side of the Euxine sea. The pretence for the war is said to have been the invasion of Asia by that people above a hundred years before, when they overran Média. But if we may guess at the real inducement to undertake this expensive and hazardous expedition, without necessity, and without any obvious allurement, it was to lead as far from home as possible the restless spirits of the nation; and by a rough and unprofitable warfare to make their wishes and desires revert, and become fixed on the peaceable enjoyment of those rich homes which the valor and fortune of their fathers had acquired for them. An immense army was collected. The Asian Greeks formed a naval force Herodot. 1. 4. c. 1. & seq. to attend it. They were ordered to the mouth of

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the Danube. All the nations as far as that river submitted without resistance. Darius crossed it: but when engaged in the vast wilderness beyond, though no enemy appeared capable of opposing his force, want of subsistence soon obliged him to retire toward more cultivated regions. Then the Scythians, collecting their strength, pressed upon his rear. Like the modern Tartars, they fought mostly on horseback: like them also, daring and skilful skirmishers, though incapable of order, they defeated an enemy in detail, continually harassing and cutting off detached parties, without ever coming to a general engagement; to which, on account of their quick motion, and total disencumbrance from baggage and magazines, it was impossible to force them. Herodotus's account of this expedition exactly resembles what has been experienced in the same part of the world several times within the last century. The Persian cavalry, he tells us, shrunk from the impetuosity of the Scythian charge: yet the Scythians could make no impression upon the compact body of the Persian foot. A retreat however through such a country, in presence of a superior cavalry, was highly difficult and hazardous. After great sufferings and much loss the Persians reached the Danube. Having put that river between themselves and the enemy, the march was continued quietly to the Hellespont. Leaving a large force there under Megasabuz, Darius proceeded to Sardis.¹⁵

¹⁵ Herodotus's account of this expedition affords remarkable proof both of his propensity to relate wonderful stories which he had heard, and of his honest scruple to invent what he had not heard, and at the same time it adds powerfully to the instances before occurring of his having information of distant countries and distant transactions beyond what, for his age and circum-

It has been common, among later historians, to speak of the event of this expedition as highly dis- SECT.
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stances, might be expected. Nothing can be more improbable and inconsistent, not to say impossible, than his story of the Persian monarch's cruelty to Oebazus and his sons. All the most authenticated circumstances of the life of Darius mark him as a politic yet a humane prince. But that execution, as it stands reported by Herodotus, appears hardly less absurd in its im-policy than abominable for its cruelty. Yet that, about the time of Darius's march for Scythia, there may have been executions in Persia in a family of rank, is by no means impossible: and while the policy of a despotic government would conceal the real circumstances of the crime, perhaps also forbidding conversation upon it, the absurd tale, which Herodotus has transmitted to posterity, might pass in whispers as far as Asia Minor. The closet conversations between the Persian monarch and his brother, together with other circumstances of private communication, which the historian has undertaken to detail, must be otherwise considered. A propensity to the dramatic manner appears strong in all very ancient history, and particularly in the oriental. It is indeed still observable in the narration of uneducated people in the most polished countries. This was not so far obsolete among the Greeks, after the age of Herodotus, but that the judicious and exact Thucydides thought it necessary to diversify his narrative by the frequent introduction of speeches; which he has used as a vehicle of political discussion of highest advantage to his history. But though he bears with the critics the principal credit of this management, it appears that the design was not original with him: he found the example already set by Herodotus; of which a very valuable specimen occurs in the debate of the Persian chiefs concerning the form of government to be established after the death of the Magian usurper: valuable, as not the sentiments of Persians confined to a despotic court, but the result of extensive observation by a Greek among various governments is there related. The pretended debate in the cabinet of Xerxes concerning the expedition into Greece, considered as an exposition of the state of Greece at the time, is also well worthy attention. But the account which Herodotus has left us of so singular a people as the Scythians, so little generally known to the Greeks, when we find it confirmed by all subsequent testimony, and at length by the deep and acute researches

CHAP. VI. graceful to Darius; seemingly with as little reason as the virtues, and even the wisdom, of the savage Scythians have been extolled; whose virtues and whose wisdom appear to have been more nearly the same from the age of Darius to the present day than those of perhaps any other people. Certainly his reputation and consequence among nations were not sunk by it.¹⁶ On his return, the Ionian and Æolian Greeks vied in paying court to him. The force left under Megabazus sufficed to extend the Persian dominion westward. All was subdued as far as Macedonia; and Amyntas, king of that country, acknowledged subjection to the Persian monarch by the delivery of earth and water. The Grecian islands also began to feel the overbearing influence of the Persian power. The history of Samos, which had been acquired in the reign of Cambyses, as it tends to explain the state of those islands and seas, may deserve some detail.

Herodot.
1. 5. c. 18.
Plat. Men.
p. 239. t. 2.

Polycrates, a private citizen of Samos, had, in conjunction with his two brothers, acquired the supreme authority there. Procuring then the death of one, and the banishment of the other, he remained monarch of the island. He seems to have been the Machiavel

of the historian of the Roman empire, cannot but do him great credit. It has been a kind of fashion, to which Plutarch principally has given vogue, to sneer at his authority. An attentive examination of his narrative, and a careful comparison of it with all the ancient writers nearest to him in age, will lead to assurance of its merit. His place in ancient history can be supplied by no other author; and it has therefore been highly satisfactory to find him so well stand the test of Mr. Gibbon's very extensive and very trying inquiries.

¹⁶ The testimonies of Æschylus and Plato to this point are still stronger than that of Herodotus. For this the chorus quoted in note ¹⁴ p. 443 of this volume, and Plato's third Dialogue on Legislation, p. 695. t. 2. may be seen.

of his time, with the advantage of possessing the SECT.
III. means to prove the merit of his theory by practice. It is said to have been his favorite maxim, that by avoiding to injure he gained nothing, but by repairing injuries he conciliated friends. With a hundred trireme galleys in constant pay, he exercised universal piracy in the Grecian seas. But he cultivated the friendship of Amasis king of Egypt; who being, like himself, both a man of abilities and a usurper, would naturally incline to the connexion. He acquired possession of many of the smaller islands of the Ægean, and of several towns on the continent of Asia Minor. In a war with the Milesians, defeating their allies the Lesbians in a sea-fight, he destroyed or took the whole fleet; and, so little consideration had he for the Grecian name, the prisoners were made slaves, and the ditch surrounding the walls of Samos in Herodotus's time was formed by their labor. Little however as he cared for justice or humanity, he studied elegance in luxury. He encouraged arts and learning, which were already beginning to florish among the Asian Greeks, and the poet Anacreon was his constant guest. But the philosopher Pythagoras is said to have avoided such patronage, and, after passing some time in Egypt and Babylon, to have settled at Crotona in Italy.

Polycrates at length began to be remarked for a prosperity which, among many trying circumstances, in no one instance had ever failed him. This very prosperity is said to have lost him the friendship of the king of Egypt. The anecdote, considered relatively to the history of the human mind, is remarkable. Amasis thought it in the nature of things that the tide of human affairs must unfailingly, sooner or later, bring a violent reverse of fortune; and in

Herodot. l. 3. c. 121.

Isochr. Bus. encom.

Strabo, l. 14. p. 638.

Herod. l. 3. c. 40. 41.

Strab. l. 14.

CHAP. VI. this belief he advised Polycrates to seek some loss, which might appease that disposition, apparent in the gods, disposers of worldly things, to envy human happiness.¹⁷ Polycrates, whether believing with his royal friend, or merely humoring popular prejudice, determined to follow the advice. He had a remarkable seal, highly valued, an emerald, cut by Theodorus a celebrated Samian artist. This seal he threw into the sea. A few days after, a fish of uncommon size being brought to him for a present, the seal was found in its belly. Polycrates, supposing this must be esteemed a manifest declaration of divine favor, wrote a particular account of it to Amasis; whose superstition led him to so different a theory that he sent a herald formally to renounce friendship and hospitality with one whom he thought marked for peculiar vengeance by the gods. Whether the circumstances of this story be simply true, or whether so deep a politician as Polycrates might think it worth while to impose the belief of the more extraordinary of them on a superstitious people, for the purpose of confirming the idea that he was peculiarly favored by the Deity, (an idea then of high political importance,) or whether we suppose the whole a fiction, which is not likely, it assists at least to characterize the age in which it was written, and many following ages, in which it was thought worth repeating and animadverting upon.

A deep stroke of policy, which occurs next in the history of Polycrates, perfectly accords with his general character. He feared sedition among the Samians. Cambyses was then collecting a naval force from the

¹⁷ Εμοὶ δὲ αἱ σαιὶ μεγάλαι εἰντυχίαι οὐκ ἀρέσκουσι, ἐπιταμένῳ τὸ θεῖον ὡς ἔστι φθονερόν. Epistle from Amasis to Polycrates, in Herodot. b. 3. c. 40.

Asian Greeks for his Egyptian expedition. Poly- Herodot.
1. 3. c. 44.
& seq. crates sent privately to desire that the Persian mon-
arch would require, from him also, a contribution of
force to the armament. Such a request was not likely
to be denied: the requisition was made; and Poly-
crates in consequence manned forty trireme galleys
with those whom he thought most inclined and most
able to give him disturbance. He had determined
that they should never return to Samos; but, after
the conquest of Egypt, failing in intrigue to procure
their detention by the Persians, he opposed them
with open hostility. Thus excluded from their
country, they applied to Lacedæmon for assistance.
The Spartan government, always disposed to inter-
fere in the internal quarrels of neighbouring states,
received them favorably. Some old piracies of the
Samians were a farther pretence for war, and induced
the Corinthians to join in it. The united force of
Lacedæmon and Corinth besieged Samos forty days
without making any progress, and then returned to
Peloponnesus. The expelled Samians had now again
their fortune to seek; and piracy was the resource on
which they determined. The island of Siphnus, small
and otherwise of little value, had gold and silver
mines, by which its inhabitants became remarkable
among the Greeks for riches. The Samians went
thither, and desired to borrow ten talents, about two
thousand five hundred pounds sterling. Being refused,
they landed, and began to plunder the country. The
Siphnians, giving them battle, were defeated; and,
in retreating to their town, a large body was cut off.
A treaty was then proposed, and the Siphnians bought
the departure of the Samians at the price of a hundred
talents, nearly twenty-five thousand pounds. These
freebooters then sailed to Crete, and seizing a ter-

CHAP. VI. ritory, founded the town of Cydonia, where they prospered greatly for five years; but in the sixth, quarrelling with the Æginetans, more powerful pirates than themselves, they were defeated in a sea-fight. The Æginetans then landed in Crete; and, being joined by the Cretans in attacking the Samian town, they took it, and reduced all the inhabitants to slavery.

Such being the state of the Grecian islands and Grecian seas, and such the mutual treatment of the Greeks among one another, what they experienced from the Persians will the less be matter for wonder. The ambition of Polycrates was not inferior to his

Herod. 1. 3. abilities. He is supposed to have aimed at no less **Thucyd.** than the command of all the islands of the Ægean, **I. 1. c. 13.** together with all Æolia and Ionia. His power, particularly his naval power, his known talents, and his suspected views, probably all gave umbrage to Orœtes **Strab. 1. 14.** satrap of Sardis. What other cause of offence there **p. 637. 638.** was, Herodotus confesses that he could not certainly learn. The Persian invited him to his court. Polycrates went with a large retinue. He was immediately **OI. 64. 3.** arrested, and put to death by a public crucifixion; **B. C.** esteemed the most ignominious, as it was the most **522. B.** cruel of all usual modes of execution. His subjects appear to have submitted without resistance to the satrap's authority.

Samos thus was the first Grecian island of the Ægean sea brought under the Persian dominion. But, after the return of Darius from Scythia, Lesbos, Chios, and other islands on the Asiatic coast were, some voluntarily, others by compulsion, added to his vast empire. Tyrants in general, and all who aimed at tyranny, not unwillingly submitted to a supremacy which either placed them above their fellowcitizens,

or secured the superiority obtained. It was a common Herodot.
policy of the Persians, which we find practised by the ^{L. 1. c. 154.}
great Cyrus, and perhaps not less advantageous than
^{L. 3. c. 15.} liberal, to appoint the son of the conquered prince,
or some other principal person of the country itself,
to be governor of the conquered country; always
however under the superintending control of a Persian
satrap. Most of the Grecian towns were therefore
left to their own magistrates and laws; some citizen
presiding as governor, whom in that elevated situation
the Greeks always entitled Tyrant. Thus the Herodot.
Mitylenæan Coes, for services in the Scythian ex-^{L. 5. c. 11.}
pedition, was raised to the tyranny of Mitylene. Darius,
having settled the administration of Asia Minor, and
of his new acquisitions in Europe, committed the
superintendency of the whole to his brother Artaphernes,
and returned to Susa his capital.

Probably the principal purposes of the Scythian ex-
pedition were accomplished.¹⁸ The ambitious spirits
among the Persians had been diverted from domestic disturbance.
If the army suffered in the Scythian wilds, yet a large extent of valuable country, inhabited
by different nations, was nevertheless added to the empire.
New honors and new employments were thus brought within the monarch's disposal. And the acquisition was perhaps not the less valuable from the circumstance that both the people of the newly-acquired territory, and the people still unsubdued bordering on it, were in disposition restless and fierce; and therefore likely to furnish employment for those whom the prince, himself safe in his distant capital, might desire to employ.

¹⁸ This seems a conclusion warranted by the whole narrative of Herodotus. The testimonies last referred to of Æschylus and Plato speak still more strongly to the same purpose.

CHAPTER VII.

Continuation of the History of Greece during the reign of Darius king of Persia.

SECTION I.

Immediate causes of the wars between Greece and Persia. Persian expedition against Naxos. Revolt of the Asian Greeks against the Persian government.

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THE Persian dominion now extended over a large portion of the Grecian people, and bordered on Greece itself. The Asiatic colonies indeed, natural and almost necessary objects for Persian ambition, could hardly anyhow have avoided falling under its overwhelming power: but Greece, separated from all the world by lofty mountains and dangerous seas, had little to attract the notice of the mighty monarch who lived at Susa; while the nearer provinces of India presented a far more tempting field for his arms, and the Scythians, who ranged the long extent of his northern frontier, from the borders of China to the borders of Germany, might still be deemed formidable neighbours. Had therefore inactivity been in the temper of its people, Greece might have lain long in obscurity, peaceful, free, and unregarded. But inactivity was in the temper neither of the people nor of the governments of Greece. Touching upon the Persian provinces, to clash was scarcely avoidable; and some transactions, at first seemingly insignificant

Thucyd.
l. 2. c. 97.

among the concerns of a vast empire, led shortly to those wars which, by events contrary to all human expectation and foresight, raised the Grecian name to the summit of military glory; and, giving thus a new and powerful spring to the temper and genius of the people, contributed greatly to those astonishing exertions of the mind in every path of science and of art, which have made the Greeks of this and the next age the principal ornaments of the history of mankind. To borrow therefore the words of a great man, who has treated Grecian history, though briefly, yet with superior penetration and judgment, ‘I shall ‘not hold it any impertinency to be large in unfold-‘ing every circumstance of so great a business as ‘gave fire to those wars, which never could be ‘thoroughly quenched until in the ruin of this great ‘Persian monarchy.’¹

Among the Grecian governors under the Persian dominion Histæus tyrant of Miletus was eminent & seq.
Herodot. l. 5. c. 11.
for abilities, and for favor with the Persian king. In the pompous seclusion in which the Persian kings, at least those after Darius, commonly lived, knowledge of either their sentiments or their personal commands could rarely reach the Greeks; so that what writers report of them must generally be considered as those sometimes of the court of Susa, but often, though in the king’s name, as only from a satrap of the western

¹ Sir Walter Raleigh’s History of the World, book 3. c. 5. sect. 7. It is to be regretted that this extraordinary man, who, by that union of characters, common among the ancients, but almost singular in modern ages, soldier, seaman, statesman, scholar, poet, and philosopher, was so peculiarly qualified to unfold ancient history to modern apprehension, should have allowed himself so little scope for the affairs of Greece and Rome. Hume has noticed his superior manner of treating them, in his History of England, in the Appendix to the Reign of James the First.

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provinces. But Histæus, according to the historian, was known to the king personally : having rendered considerable services in the Scythian expedition, he had been rewarded with a grant of territory on the river Strymon, in the new province of the Persian empire, Thrace, Darius's conquest, where he proposed to plant a colony. The mines of gold and silver in that country, and the ship-timber, with which it abounded, were great objects for Greeks; while, in the extent of the Persian empire, to give a corner of a newly acquired province was a trifle for the prince's bounty; nor would the circumstances of the spot, in themselves, perhaps be thought worth inquiry. But the busy temper of the Greeks, their forms of government, so new to the Persians, and particularly their skill in naval affairs, which gave them importance with their conquerors, were likely to excite jealousy. The settlement therefore was scarcely begun when it was suggested that Histæus, by means of his colony, so favorably situated both for acquisition of wealth and increase of naval power, might hereafter have means, together with inclination, to assert independency. Miletus, where he governed, was in riches and population the first of the Asiatic Grecian cities: his influence was extensive among the others; and should he acquire the command of the whole maritime force of the Asian Greeks, with increased means from his new colony, he might become formidable. Quietly therefore, and without apparent injury, to obviate any such project, it was pretended that Darius greatly desired his advice and assistance at Susa. Histæus, flattered by the distinction, gladly consented to attend the king. He was received with honor; no interference with his Thracian settlement ensued; and completely to prove that only favor was

intended, the government of Miletus, during his absence, was committed to his kinsman Aristagoras. SECT. I.

About the time of this arrangement, a contest of factions in Naxos, one of the populous and flourishing islands of the Ægean, came to extremity; and the democratical party prevailing, all the men of principal rank and property were expelled, as usual in such convulsions. In these untoward circumstances they solicited the support of the new governor of Miletus, as the person of greatest power and influence among the Asian Greeks. Aristagoras, taking into consideration that, if through his means they were restored, they must depend on him for future safety, and desiring to add Naxos to his own command, received them favorably. The force indeed, he told them, under his immediate authority was unequal to the reduction of those who now held their island; for he was informed they were eight thousand strong in regular heavy-armed foot, and had many galleys; but his interest was good with Artaphernes the Persian satrap, brother of the great king; and with his assistance, who commanded a powerful fleet as well as a numerous army, what they desired might easily be effected. That case of a party in a Grecian republic driven into exile appears to have been generally wretched in extreme, and in Grecian minds revenge was commonly a powerful passion. To recover therefore their property and their civil rights, and to revenge themselves on those who had robbed them of both, they readily consented to guide a Persian army against a Grecian island. Artaphernes approving the proposal, two hundred trireme galleys were prepared in the winter to act with a competent land force, and Megabates, of the blood royal of Persia, was, in conjunction with Aristagoras, appointed to

Herodot.
l. 5. c. 28.
& seq.

CHAP. VII. the command. To deceive the Naxians, report was spread that the armament was intended for the Hellespont; and accordingly, when the fleet sailed in spring, its course was first directed that way; but it stopped at Chios, to wait for a northerly wind, which would carry it in one day and a night to Naxos.

For the ancient galleys of war, as it has been before observed, an open beach upon which they might be hauled, served as a port; and as their scanty width and depth afforded little convenient shelter for the numerous complement, which the ancient mode both of navigation and of naval action required, the crews, for health as well as for convenience, were at every opportunity encamped or quartered ashore; a guard only, proportioned to the exigency of the situation, being mounted on every ship. It happened that Megabates, visiting the fleet, found a Grecian galley without its guard. Incensed at such dangerous neglect of discipline, he sent for the captain; and, with the haughty and undistinguishing imperiousness of a modern Turkish bashaw, immediately ordered him to be tied in his own cabin, with his head out of the window.² Information was presently carried to Aristagoras; who hastened to Megabates, and begged that a man in such a command, and his friend, might not be so opprobriously treated. The Persian refused to relax. Aristagoras was thus reduced to difficulty. All the Greeks would be alarmed by such tyranny, and his own consequence among them could hardly

² Διὰ θαλαμίης διελόντας τῆς νεός. Herod. l. v. c. 33. ‘Vincire trajectum per thalamium navis, id est, foramen per quod infimi remi extant.’ Wesseling. Not doubting the absurdity of this, the notion evidently of one utterly ignorant of navigation, I do not know that I can support the different interpretation which I have given; but it is here of little consequence.

fail to suffer if his interference wholly failed of SECT.
I. efficacy. Depending then, apparently, on the importance of the Grecian part of the naval armament to the Persian interest, he took the hazardous course of assuming authority himself, and set the captain free. Megabates was of course violently offended. Aristagoras, far from making any submission, insisted that the whole business of the expedition was committed to his direction. With such dissension between the leaders, affairs were not likely to be well conducted. If Herodotus should be believed, though for such matters his own caution to his readers, formerly noticed, should be regarded, Megabates himself, as soon as night came on, sent a vessel to Naxos to give information of the object of the armament. The Naxians, who from a force professedly designed for the Hellespont, and known to have begun its course northward, had apprehended nothing, immediately drove their cattle, brought all their moveables into the city, and made every preparation for vigorous defence. The fleet at length arriving, the disappointment at the failure of opportunity for surprise, he adds, was great. Siege however was laid to the city of the same name with the island, but the defence was such that, after four months, little progress being made, and not only the sums allowed by Artaphernes consumed, but much besides from the private fortune of Aristagoras, it became necessary to abandon the enterprise. A post within the island was fortified, in which the Naxian refugees might maintain themselves as a garrison, and the armament, which had suffered considerably, returned to the continent.

Aristagoras now found himself very critically situated. Sure of the enmity of Megabates, and reasonably fearing the displeasure of Artaphernes, he

Herodot.
l. 5. c. 35.

CHAP. expected deprivation of his command at Miletus as
VII. the least evil that could ensue. The distress in his private affairs therefore, from his great expenses on the expedition, added to the loss of his credit at the satrap's court, the disappointment of all his former hopes, and apprehension of still worse consequences, made him desperate. His credit was yet high, not only in Miletus but through all the Asiatic Grecian cities; and, among projects occurring to him, one was to excite a general revolt against the Persian government. In this crisis a messenger reached him from Histiaeus at Susa. That chief, highly uneasy under all the honors he received at the Persian court, while he found himself really an exile and a slave, began to see it was intended that his banishment from his native country should be perpetual. In revolving therefore the circumstances which might possibly obtain him the means of returning, none appeared so likely to be efficacious as a revolt in Ionia; and he determined upon the dangerous measure of endeavouring to excite one, hoping that he should infallibly be among those who would be employed to quell it. To convey to Aristagoras his wishes on a subject so hazardous to communicate upon, he is said to have written with an indelible stain on the shaven head of a trusty slave, and waiting till the hair was sufficiently grown again to hide the letters, he dispatched the slave to Miletus. The wavering resolution of Aristagoras was thus determined. He sounded the Milesians, and found many well disposed to his purpose. He then called them together, and made his proposal in form. The restoration of democracy was the lure; Aristagoras offered to resign the tyranny. Of the persons whom he had assembled, Hecataeus the historian, remarkable as one of the earliest Grecian

prose-writers whose works had any reputation with posterity, but from whom nothing remains, is said alone to have dissuaded the revolt; arguing from the extreme disproportion of any force they could possibly collect and maintain to that of the Persian empire. Not prevailing, he then recommended particular attention to their marine; for the command of the sea, he said, alone could give them a chance for success, or indeed for escape from utter destruction. For this however, he observed, their public revenue was very unequal; and he therefore advised the application of the treasures which had been deposited by Crœsus in the temple of Apollo at Branchidæ, otherwise a ready prey for the enemy, to that important purpose. This was disapproved, but the resolution to revolt nevertheless prevailed, and measures decisive and vigorous were immediately taken in prosecution of it. Aristagoras resigned the supreme command, and republican government was re-established in Miletus. The Grecian forces, returned from Naxos, lay still encamped at Myus, under the command mostly of the tyrants of the several cities. Iatragoras, a man of influence, under commission from the new Milesian government, hastening thither, arrested most of those commanders, and sending them to their several cities, delivered them to the party adverse to the existing government. In general they were banished, but Coes, who had been raised by the favor of Darius to the tyranny of Mitylene, was put to death. Thus, through a general restoration of democratical government, all Ionia and Æolia were quickly engaged in revolt.

Aristagoras was active and diligent in whatever might contribute to the success of the very hazardous enterprise in which he had engaged himself and his

Hærodot.
I. 5. c. 38.

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country. He undertook an embassy to Greece, with the hope of gaining the parent states to the cause of the colonies. Going first to Lacedæmon, he endeavoured to rouse the Spartans by urging the shame which redounded to all Greece, and especially to the leading state, from the miserable subjection of a Grecian people. He magnified the wealth, and made light of the military force of the Persian empire. He animadverted upon the inferiority of Asiatic courage, of Asiatic arms, and of the Asiatic manner of fighting. He drew an alluring picture of the great and glorious field which Asia offered for the exercise of that military virtue, in which the Spartans so greatly excelled all other people; and he observed how much more worthy it was of their ambition than the scanty frontier, for which they had been so long contending with their neighbours, the Messenians, Arcadians, and Argives, whose nearer approach to them in valor and discipline yet made success more doubtful. He concluded with mentioning no less than the conquest of Asia, and the plunder of Susa itself, as attainable objects for the Lacedæmonian arms. But the cautious government, wholly directed by a few aged men, was not yet ripe for such allurement. Aristagoras was asked, how far it was from Miletus to Susa. He answered, incautiously, ‘A three months’ journey.’ Nothing more was wanting to procure him a firm denial. It was replied, that he could not seriously call himself a friend to the Lacedæmonians, who wanted to lead them on a military expedition to the distance of a three months’ journey; and he was commanded to leave Sparta. Finding he could avail nothing publicly, he is said to have attempted to gain king Cleomenes by bribes; but failing in this also, he passed to Athens.

SECTION II.

Affairs of Athens. Invasion of Attica by the Peloponnesians, Bœotians, and Eubœans. Assistance from Athens to the Ionians against Persia. Reduction of the Asiatic Grecian states again under the Persian dominion. History of the Athenian colony in the Thracian Chersonese. Liberal administration of the conquered provinces under the Persian dominion.

The Athenians, then just restored to nominal liberty, were in no florishing circumstances. By turns distracted with domestic faction, pressed by the tyranny of Lacedæmon, and urged by the apprehension of a most formidable attack with which Cleomenes threatened them, they had, by their ambassadors at Sardis, submitted to the humiliation of acknowledging subjection to the Persian king, in hope of obtaining his powerful protection. The conduct of those ambassadors, we are told, was strongly reprobated on their return; and it does not appear that any Persian assistance was either given, or farther desired. Yet the danger which hung over Athens might have justified a treaty for protection upon almost any terms. Cleomenes was bent upon revenge. He collected forces from all Peloponnesus, not informing the allies what was his object. At the head of a large army he landed at Eleusis. At the same time, according to previous agreement, the Thebans, by a sudden attack, took Cœnoe and Hysiæ, Attic boroughs bordering on Bœotia, while the Chalcidians of Eubœa also invaded Attica on their side. It is the common effect of public danger and public misfortune to bring forward great characters, and to excite even ordinary men to great exertion. No individual among the Athenians is par-

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ticularly noticed by history upon this occasion ; but the administration of the commonwealth appears to have been wise and spirited. Neglecting, for the present, the Thebans and Eubœans, the Athenian leaders directed their whole force against the Peloponnesians, the more formidable enemy. A battle, upon which the fate of Athens depended, was on the point of being fought, when the Corinthians, angry that they had not been previously consulted concerning the object of the armament, ashamed to be made the tools of the revenge of Cleomenes and the ambition of Sparta, and utterly adverse to the addition of Athens to Spartan dominion, withdrew their forces. Demaratus king of Lacedæmon, dissatisfied with his colleague, and willing to preserve his interest with the Corinthians, retreated with them, and these examples sufficed for the other Peloponnesian allies. All withdrew ; and Cleomenes was thus reduced to the necessity of hastily, and not without shame, retiring with the small force remaining under his command. The Athenians immediately turned against their other enemies. At the Euripus they overtook the Bœotian army retreating to join the Chalcidians, who had withdrawn into Eubœa. They defeated it ; took seven hundred prisoners ; and, crossing the Euripus the same day, gained a second victory over the Chalcidians, so complete that they became masters of a tract in Eubœa sufficient to divide among four thousand families of their fellow-countrymen, whom they established as a colony there. The Athenian treasury was enriched by the ransom of the prisoners, at two mines, about eight pounds sterling, a head ; and in the largest island of the Ægean sea an Athenian interest was established which became important.

Overagainst Athens, on the southern side of the Saronic gulf, lies the little barren island of Ægina, formerly subject to the neighbouring little state of Epidaurus in Peloponnesus, which was itself originally but a member of the Argive commonwealth. Though an extent of fruitful territory only can be the foundation of lasting power, yet opportunity of situation was often to the active and restless temper of the Greeks more important. This island, or rather rock, was a convenient resort for seafaring people, whether merchants or pirates; and, between the two, growing populous and wealthy, had not only shaken off its dependency upon Epidaurus, but was become one of the principal naval powers of Greece.³ Some old causes of enmity subsisted between Ægina and Athens. The Thebans therefore, anxious for revenge against the Athenians, but unable, since the defection of their allies, to prosecute it by their own arms, endeavoured to engage the Æginetans in their confederacy; and, with the help of an unintelligible response from the Delphian oracle, they succeeded. Those islanders surprised and plundered the port of Phalerum, and extended their ravages along a considerable tract of the Attic coast. The Athenians, who had hitherto applied themselves little to naval war, were without means for immediate revenge, and weightier matters soon required their attention.

Cleomenes was not of a temper to rest under the disappointment and disgrace of his late miscarriage. He left nothing untried to excite a fresh league against Athens. In the Spartan senate he asserted

Herodot. l. 5. c. 90. & seq.

³ Setting aside the unfavorable part of the Æginetan character, Ægina was to the continent of Greece what Jersey and Guernsey formerly were to England.

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that, when he was besieged in the Athenian citadel, the archives of the republic being then open to him, he had discovered the collusion of the Delphian priests with the Alcmaeonidæ in regard to the pretended responses of the god, commanding the Lacedæmonians to give liberty to Athens. He urged that the Spartan government had therefore acted not less unjustly and irreligiously than imprudently in expelling Hippias. To him they were bound equally by the sacred laws of hospitality and by the political interest of their country: nor could they do their duty to gods or men otherwise than by restoring him. In truth the Athenian government seems already to have become formidable to other states by the political principles which its leading men, flattering the Many to promote their own power, put forward. The Spartan government, infected with this jealousy, consented that Hippias should be invited into Peloponnesus. But Cleomenes had learnt from his late failure that the forces of the allies were not so at his disposal, but that he must have some deference for the ruling powers in the cities whose troops he would employ. A convention of deputies from those cities was therefore summoned to Lacedæmon: among whom the measure was found so generally unpopular, and the Corinthian deputy particularly condemned it in such strong terms, that Cleomenes thought proper to desist from urging his design farther.

Hippias, disappointed of the hope thus held out to him, found yet resources in his private character, and the long established reputation of his family. Returning to Sigeum he received invitations from Amyntas king of Macedonia, and from the Thessalians; the former offering Anthemus, the others Iolcus, for places of settlement for himself and his

partizans. But he had views which induced him to prefer his residence in Asia.

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We have now seen Persia attracting the attention of the Greeks of Asia and the islands; much as a tremendous enemy, but sometimes too as a valuable friend. We have seen the democracy itself of Athens setting the example, among the states of Old Greece, of soliciting Persian protection. Will then the liberal spirit of patriotism and equal government justify the prejudices of Athenian faction, and doom Hippias to peculiar execration, because at length he also, with many of his fellow-citizens, despairing of other means for ever returning to their native country, applied to Artaphernes at Sardis? He found the attention which his rank and character might claim. Such was the resort of Greeks, from various parts, to the satrap's court and capital, some with political, some with mercantile views, that the Athenian government would not be likely to remain uninformed of what publicly passed there concerning them. Reasonably apprehensive then of the consequences, they sent to request that Artaphernes would not countenance their

Herodot.
1. 5. c. 96.

banished citizens. The Persian prince gave for his final answer to their ambassadors, 'That if the Athenians would be safe they must receive Hippias.' The return of these ambassadors put Athens in a ferment. General indignation ensued, but not without mixture of great alarm. At this critical moment c. 97. Aristagoras arrived from Sparta, to solicit assistance for the Ionian confederacy against the oppression of Persia. Being introduced into the assembly of the people, he repeated those arguments which at Lacedaemon had been unavailing; adding that Miletus, an Athenian colony, might reasonably claim assistance in its distress from a parent state so powerful. Omitting

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nothing that could flatter, allure, or excite commiseration, and having, as Herodotus observes, everything at stake, there was nothing that he was not ready to promise; and he prevailed. Twenty ships were voted to assist the Ionians; and these ships, adds the historian, were the beginning of evils to Greeks and barbarians.

OL. 70. 1.⁴
B. C. 500.
Herodot.
l. 5. c. 99.
& seq.

The administration of Artaphernes appears to have been negligent and weak. The Athenian ships arrived at Miletus, with five added by the Eretrians of Eubœa. The combined fleet sailed to Ephesus; and, to profit by a bold stroke from the Persian remissness, the land forces debarking, marched directly to Sardis, distant about sixty miles. So totally was Artaphernes unprepared* for suppressing the revolt, and so little even for his own security, though he commanded a considerable force, he abandoned the town, and shut himself within the castle. The town was of course in universal tumult: the Grecian troops entered unopposed: plunder became their object, and in the confusion presently a house was set on fire. For security in frequent earthquakes, to which that country is subject, light materials were preferred, as for the same reason they continue to this day to be

* Usher has placed the beginning of the Ionian revolt four years earlier, clearly in opposition to the account of Herodotus; which is the authority here preferred, as it has been also by Dodwell, for his *Annales Thucydidei*. Herodotus expressly says, that the war lasted but six years.* From the end of it he very clearly marks three to the second year of the satrapy of Mardonius; † and it does not appear that more than one passed afterward before Mardonius was superseded by Artaphernes and Daris,‡ who immediately proceeded on the expedition against Greece, which Usher, with all other chronologers, places 490. years before the Christian era.

* b. 6. c. 18.

† c. 31. 43. & 46.

‡ c. 94.

there, as in our West Indian islands, for the construction of dwellings. Most of the houses of the wealthy capital of Lesser Asia were merely frames of timber with panels of reed: and though some had their walls of brick, yet the roofs were universally of thatch. The flame spread rapidly through a town so built. The inhabitants, Persian as well as Lydian, before without order or compact, solicitous every one for his own, were thus driven to assemble in the agora, and in the course of the torrent Pactolus which ran through the middle of it. Accident and necessity having collected them, they found themselves strong enough to attempt defence. The Greeks, stopped by the flames in their career of plunder, their principal object, and finding a large body of men to engage, whose numbers were continually increasing, amid the hesitation of disappointment hastily determined to retire to mount Tmolus, and thence, in the night, they prosecuted their retreat toward their ships. News of the transaction was quickly conveyed through the provinces within the river Halys. Troops hastened from all parts to Sardis; and the Persians, not yet accustomed to yield, marched immediately to seek the enemy, whom they found under the walls of Ephesus. A battle ensued, in which the Greeks were entirely defeated; many of their principal officers were killed, and those of the survivors, who avoided captivity, dispersed to their several cities. The Athenians, after this misfortune, recalled their ships; and, though strongly solicited, would no more take part in the war.

The Ionians nevertheless continued to prosecute vigorous measures. Wisely avoiding farther attempts by land, they confined their offensive operations to the sea. Their fleet, sailing first to the Hellespont,

Herodot.
l. 5. c. 103.

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l. 5. c. 104.

brought Byzantium, and the other Grecian towns on the Propontis, either under their subjection or into their alliance. Then directing their course southward, they were equally successful with most of the Carian cities. About the same time Onesilus, king of Salamis in Cyprus, in pursuit of his own views of ambition, had persuaded all that island to revolt against the Persians, except the city of Amathus, to which he laid siege. Receiving information that a Phenician fleet was bringing a Persian army to its relief, he sent to desire alliance with the Ionians, and assistance from their navy, as in a common cause. The Ionians, without long deliberation, determined to accept the alliance offered, and to send the assistance desired. The Persians however had landed their army before the Ionian fleet arrived; and on the same day, it is said, two battles were fought; between the Persians and Cyprians by land, and between the Ionians and Phenicians at sea. In the sea fight the Greeks were victorious, the Samians particularly distinguishing themselves; but by land they were defeated; Onesilus was killed, and the Persians quickly recovered the whole island.

c. 106. &
seq.

But while victory thus attended the fleet of Ionia, the country was exposed to the superior land force of the enemy. The Persian general Daurises, leading an army to the Hellespont, took the four towns Abydus, Percote, Lampsacus, and Pæsus, in as many days. Informed that the Carians had engaged in the revolt, he marched southward, and defeated that people in a great battle. The routed troops, joined by the Ionian army, ventured and lost a second battle, in which the Ionians principally suffered. But Heraclides of Mylassa, general of the Carians, was one of those superior men who, acquiring wisdom from

misfortune, can profit even from a defeat. The Persian army proceeded, with that careless confidence which victory is apt to inspire, as if nothing remained but to take possession of the Carian towns. A mountainous tract was to be passed. Heraclides, well acquainted with the country, pre-occupied the defiles. The Persians, entangled among the mountains, were attacked by surprise: Daurises fell, with many officers of high rank, and his army was completely defeated.

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The resources of a vast empire nevertheless enabled the Persians to act in too many places at once for the Ionians to oppose them with final success. When Daurises marched toward Caria, Hymeas had turned from the Propontis toward the Hellespont, and quickly recovered all the northern part of Æolia. At the same time Artaphernes himself, leading an army to the confines of Æolia and Ionia, took Cuma and Clazomenæ. Then assembling the bodies which had hitherto been acting separately, it became evidently his design to form the siege of Miletus, the head of the rebellion, by taking which he might finish the war. Aristagoras saw the gathering storm, and could see no means of withstanding it. Herodotus accuses him of pusillanimity, apparently without reason. Aristagoras knew that, however others might make their peace, no pardon could be for him; and when he could no longer assist his country in the unequal contest into which he had led it, his presence might only inflame the enemy's revenge. He determined therefore to quit Miletus. Communicating this resolution to his fellow-citizens, and waiting to see Pythagoras, a man high in rank and esteem among them, appointed to the chief command in his room, he sailed with as many as chose to follow his fortune,

Herodot.
l. 5. c. 123.
& seq.

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Herodot. 1. 5. c. 106. 107. I. 6. c. 1. & seq. Histiaus, meanwhile, having obtained his release from his honorable imprisonment in the Persian court, was allowed to go to Sardis to assist in quelling the rebellion. But the Persian officers there, better informed than the ministers at Susa, were not disposed to trust him; so that Histiaus, finding himself suspected, fled by night into Ionia, and passed to Chios. But the Ionians however were not generally well inclined to him: some viewing in him the former tyrant, others adverse to him as the author of their present calamities and danger. His fellow-citizens the Milesians absolutely refused him admission into their town: but he found more favor at Mitylene, where he obtained a loan of eight ships, with which he sailed to Byzantium. Apparently he had previous connexion with the ruling party there. From that advantageous station he carried on piratical hostility against Greeks and barbarians, seizing the vessels of all states with which he had not some friendly engagement.

OI. 71. §.
B. C. 493.
Dodw.
Ann. Th.
Herodot.
I. 6. c. 6.
& seq.

It was now the sixth year of the war, when the Persian army sat down before Miletus. To assist its operations, which otherwise might have been ineffectual, a large fleet was collected, chiefly from Phenicia; but Cilicia, Cyprus, and Egypt contributed. On the other side, the Panionian assembly was summoned, to deliberate on measures to be taken in circumstances so critical. It was there determined not to oppose the Persian army in the field; but to leave Miletus to its own defence by land, while every possible exertion should be made to increase their

force at sea; and it was ordered that all the ships of war, which every state of the confederacy could furnish, should assemble at Lade, a small island overagainst the port of Miletus, and try the event of a naval engagement.⁵ The enumeration given by Herodotus, of the trireme galleys sent by each state, probably not unfounded, may show in some degree the comparative strength of the Ionian cities. From Miletus they were eighty, Priene twelve, Myus three, Teos seventeen, Chios a hundred, Erythræ eight, Phocæa, weak since its capture by Harpagus and the emigration of its people, only three, Lesbos seventy, and Samos sixty; in all three hundred and fifty-three. This indeed appears a very great naval force for those little states to assemble and maintain; the ordinary complement for a trireme galley in that age, ^{Herodot.} _{l. 7. c. 184.}

or very shortly after, being two hundred men. The crews of the Ionian fleet would thus be above seventy thousand. The number of the enemy's ships was much greater; Herodotus says it amounted to six hundred. Yet the Persian leaders had so little confidence in an armament of which little or no part was Persian that they feared to risk a naval engagement. But command of the sea was absolutely necessary to their final success by land. They had with them most of the Ionian and Æolian tyrants, who had been expelled from their several cities at the beginning of the revolt, and through these they en-

⁵ The site of Miletus has now long ceased to be maritime, and Lade to be an island. The bay on which that city stood has been gradually filled with the sand brought down by the river Latmus, and Lade is an eminence in a plain. For this Chandler's Travels in Asia Minor may be seen, or rather the Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce, par Choiseuil Gouffier. Myus, near the mouth of the Maeander, had undergone earlier the same fate. Pausan. l. 7. c. 2.

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deavoured to practise separately upon the squadron of each hostile state. Complete pardon was promised to any who would quit the confederacy for themselves and their city; and threats indeed terrible were held out to those who should persevere in it. The men, they said, should be reduced to slavery, the boys should be made eunuchs; the virgins should be carried into Bactria, and the towns and territories should be given to others. Neither the offered favor, however, nor the threats were at first regarded. But disunion in command, the common effect of confederacies, prevailed in the Grecian fleet. A general relaxation of discipline ensued; and at length the Samian leaders, foreseeing nothing but ruin to the cause in which they were engaged, began to listen to the proposals made to them from *Æaces* the expelled tyrant of their island. Weighing the resources of their confederacy against those of the Persian empire, as Herodotus says for them, they judged that the contention on their part must in the end prove vain; since, should they, with all their disadvantage in numbers, prevail in the approaching action, still another fleet would unfailingly soon be raised against them. Urged by these considerations, they privately concluded a treaty.

The Persian leaders then no longer scrupled to quit the port and risk an engagement. The Grecian fleet advancing to meet them, the Samian commander gave the signal for his squadron to set their sails. This clearly indicated intention to fly; for the ancients in action used oars only. The captains of eleven galleys disobeyed the signal, and stood the battle; the rest sailed away. The line of battle of a fleet, among the ancients, was that alone which in our sea phrase is called the line of battle abreast: they met prow

opposed to prow.⁶ The station of the Samians had been in the extreme of one wing. The Lesbians, next in the line, disconcerted by the unexpected exposure of their flank, as well as by the alarming desertion of their allies, presently fled. The Chians remained firm; and, fighting with the most determined bravery against unequal numbers, suffered greatly. Even in their defeat however it appeared that, though the Phenician ships excelled in swiftness, and their seamen in maritime skill, yet the Greeks were advancing to a superiority in naval action above other nations. The Phocæan commander Dionysius, having with his three galleys taken three of the enemy's, when he found the battle irrecoverably lost, and the Ionian affairs consequently desperate, would return no more to Phocæa; but, directing his course to the coast of Phenicia, made prize of a number of merchant-ships. Having thus enriched himself and his crews, he sailed to Sicily to enjoy himself there; and thence, as necessity or thirst of gain impelled, he exercised piracy against the Carthaginian and Tuscan commerce.

The Persians now, masters of the sea, pressed the siege of Miletus, and at length succeeded in an assault. Most of the men within the place were killed: the rest, with the women and children, were led to Susa; testimonies to the great king of the diligence of his officers, and examples of terror to other conquered provinces. Darius however, according to the honorable testimony borne him by Herodotus, did them no other ill,⁷ such is the historian's phrase, than to settle them at Ampe on the Euphrates, near where that river discharges itself into the Persian gulf.

⁶ "Ωσπερ τριήρη ἀντίπρωρον τοῖς ἐναντίοις στρέφουσι. Xenophon, Lac. Polit. c. 11.

⁷ - - - κακὸν θδὲν ἄλλο ποιήσας. Herod. l. 6. c. 20.

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The rich vale of Miletus was divided among Persians; Carians were established in the mountainous part of its territory. Æaces, in reward for his service, was restored to the tyranny of Samos: but a large proportion of the Samian people emigrated to Sicily. In the time of Herodotus, when other revolutions had restored authority to the party adverse to tyranny and Persia, there stood a column in the agora of the city of Samos, with an inscription in honor of the eleven captains who had bravely fought in the common cause at the risk of punishment for disobedience to their immediate commander.

Herodot.
I. 6. c. 26.

Histiæus, on the reduction of Miletus, moved from Byzantium to Lesbos, where he seems to have had great interest. Thence he carried on a piratical war against the Greeks no less than against the Persians, in a manner which, notwithstanding numberless instances of extreme readiness in the Greeks at all times to make petty war among one another, appears, according to the historian's account, somewhat extraordinary. At length, venturing to land on the coast of Asia Minor for plunder, he was made prisoner by the Persian general Harpagus, and, being sent to Sardis, was there crucified.

c. 31. 32.
Ol. 71. 4.
B. C. 493.

The Persian fleet wintered at Miletus. Sailing in spring, the islands Chios, Lesbos, and Tenedos immediately submitted. The army at the same time proceeded against the Ionian towns; and the generals, far otherwise disposed than their master, executed the full vengeance which they had threatened: the handsomer Grecian boys were made eunuchs, the most beautiful girls were carried off; the towns, and as the Grecian writers particularly remark, without sparing the temples, were burnt.

After the reduction of the islands the fleet sailed

to the Hellespont. All on the Asiatic side was already subject to the Persians, and now on the European shore nothing stood against them. Devastation was spread by sword and fire. The Byzantines and Chalcedonians best avoided the storm, flying betimes with their most valuable effects, and planting the territory of Mesambria, far within the Euxine sea. The Phenicians burnt the empty towns. Returning then to the Hellespont, all the Thracian Chersonese immediately submitted to them, except the town of Cardia.

This peninsula, often called, by way of eminence, simply the Chersonese, had been planted by a colony of Athenians, whose history is not unimportant among the transactions of Greece and Persia. During the tyranny of Pisistratus at Athens, the Doloncian Thracians, ancient inhabitants of the Chersonese, pressed in war by the Apsinthians, sent their chiefs to ask advice of the god of Delphi. The oracle directed them to invite into their country, to found a colony there, the first person who, after their quitting the temple, should ask them to the rites of hospitality. The Doloncians, directing their journey homeward, passed through Phocis and Boeotia without receiving any invitation. Turning then into Attica, their way led them by the country-house of Miltiades son of Cypselus. That Athenian happening to be in his portico, and seeing men pass in a foreign dress and carrying spears, accosted them, and offered refreshment. They accepted the invitation; and, being hospitably entertained, they related the oracular response which they had received. Miltiades was of a very ancient, honorable, and wealthy family of Attica. Herodotus mentions, as a circumstance to ascertain its eminence, that it was a family accustomed to keep a chariot with four horses; probably meaning, as the

CHAP. VII. critics have explained it, that the family of Miltiades had been accustomed to contend at the Olympian festival in the race of chariots with four horses; which would imply considerable wealth in a country like Attica, little naturally adapted to breeding and keeping horses. Miltiades, himself popular and ambitious, and not friendly to Pisistratus, was thence the more prepared to accept the invitation of the Thracians. Collecting therefore a number of Athenians, either disposed to his interest, or averse to the prevailing power, all of whom Pisistratus would gladly see depart from Athens, he established his colony, and was raised to the tyranny of the Chersonese. Dying childless, his authority passed, as a part of his estate, to his nephew Stesagoras, son of Cimon his brother by the mother. Stesagoras also died childless. His younger brother Miltiades was then at Athens, in favor with Hippias and Hipparchus;⁸ who, whether with any idea of legal claim of authority of the mother-country over the colony, or merely to extend their own power, sent young Miltiades at the same time to collect his inheritance and to take upon him the public administration of the affairs of the Chersonese. It appears that the young chief carried his authority with a high hand: he kept a body of five hundred guards in constant pay; to strengthen his interest in the country, he married Hegesipyle, daughter of Olorus a Thracian prince; and Tyrant of the Chersonese is the title of Miltiades among all the earlier Greek historians.⁹

⁸ The Pisistratidae. Herod. 1.6. c. 39.

⁹ 'Chersonesi, omnes illos quo^m habitar^a annos, perpetuam obtinuerat dominationem, Tyrannusque fuerat appellatus.' Corn. Nep. vit. Milt. The biographer adds, SED JUSTUS, and proceeds to explain the early Grecian sense of the term TYRANT.

Such was the state of things when Darius led his army into Europe. Miltiades then, yielding to a power which he was unable to resist, followed the Persian monarch's orders on the Scythian expedition. He is celebrated for having proposed among the Grecian chiefs to destroy the bridge over the Danube, which had been entrusted to their care, while Darius was in Scythia; hoping that so the prince and his army, between famine and the Scythian sword, might perish, and the Grecian states might thus be delivered from the Persian power. How far this proposal, certainly perfidious, can be justified upon Grecian principles either of philosophy or of patriotism, may be difficult to determine. Credit however may apparently be given to the assertion of Herodotus and Nepos, that interest more than integrity induced the other Grecian tyrants to oppose it: for they esteemed the supremacy of Persia the best security to their own authority against the democratical disposition of their people. Herodotus reports that an army of Scythians, bent upon revenging the Persian invasion, obliged Miltiades to fly the Chersonese. According to the same historian however he must have been popular in his government, at least among the Thracians, since, on the departure of the Scythians, they recalled him. That he took any active part in the Ionian revolt is not said, but remains indicated by his flight from the Chersonese, after the defeat of the Grecian fleet off Miletus, which shows that he knew himself obnoxious to the Persians. Putting his effects aboard five trireme galleys, he steered for Athens, pursued by the Phenician fleet, which took one of his galleys commanded by his eldest son. Here again Herodotus bears very honorable testimony

Herodot.
l. 6. c. 40.
& Plutarch.
de serâ
Num. Vind.

CHAP. VII. to Darius. The son of Miltiades, as a prisoner of rank and consequence, was sent to receive his doom at Susa. But instead of punishment as a rebel, which his captors expected, Darius was liberal of favor to him, giving him an estate and a Persian lady for his wife, by whom he had a family which became numbered among the Persians. If Herodotus had authority for this anecdote, it may, together with the treatment of the captive Milesians, justify the opinion which he advances, that Darius would have pardoned even Histiaeus, had he not been prevented by the jealous haste of his officers, who executed that unfortunate, but apparently little meritorious chief, without waiting for orders from the king.

Herodot.
I. 6. c. 30.

From the same impartial historian however we learn, that the superintendency of the Persian government over the conquered people was, in general, correspondent to the disposition of the monarch, liberal and mild. The first vengeance for the rebellion being over, the Ionians remaining in the country became again objects of care and protection. No mark of enmity was shown during the rest of that year, but very beneficial regulations, says the historian, were made.¹⁰ Deputies from the cities were assembled, to advise about means for keeping the peace of the country, and it was required of the several cities to pledge themselves to one another that they would abstain from that piratical, thieving, and murdering kind of petty war, to which the Greeks at all times and in all parts were strongly addicted; and that all controversies between their little states, as between

¹⁰ - - - οὐδὲν ἐς νεῖκος φέρον, ἀλλὰ χρήσιμα κάρτα. Herod.
I. 6. c. 42.

individuals, should be determined by regular course of law.¹¹ It behoved Artaphernes then, for his own sake, to provide for the regular payment of the tribute to the Persian empire. But no new burthen was laid upon the conquered people; and to obviate that oppression which might arise from partiality, whether in the king's officers, or in the municipal governments, the whole country was carefully surveyed, and the extent of every state taken in the Persian measure of parasangs. The tribute, really but a kind of quit-rents for lands not originally belonging to the Greeks, was then equitably assessed on all; and to the historian's age the Ionians continued to profit from this beneficial arrangement.

SECT. III.

SECTION III.

First Persian armament against Greece under Mardonius: proceeds no farther than Macedonia. The Grecian cities summoned by heralds to acknowledge subjection to the Persian empire. Internal feuds in Greece: banishment of Demaratus king of Lacedæmon: affairs of Argos: banishment and restoration of Cleomenes king of Lacedæmon: death of Cleomenes: war of Athens and Aegina.

In the second spring after the reduction of Miletus OL. 72. 1. a great change was made in the administration of the B. C. 492. H. rodot. Persian provinces bordering on the Grecian seas. l. 6. c. 43. Artaphernes was recalled, with most of the principal officers of his satrapy, and Mardonius, a young man of highest rank, who had lately married a daughter of Darius, was sent to take that great and important command. He led with him a very numerous army. On the coast of Cilicia he met a large fleet attending his

¹¹ - - - - ἵνα δωσίδικοι εἶεν, καὶ μὴ ἀλλήλους φέροιεν τε καὶ ἄγοιεν. Herod. ibid.

CHAP. VII. orders; and, going aboard, he sailed to Ionia, leaving the army to be conducted by the generals under him, to the Hellespont. Revenge against Athens and Eretria for the insult at Sardis was the avowed purpose of this formidable armament. But, considering all the best information remaining of the character of Darius and of the circumstances of the times, it appears highly probable that the same necessity for employing restless spirits, which had urged to the Scythian expedition, was the principal motive also to the permission of this enterprise.

Mardonius seems to have been naturally disposed to extraordinary measures. Arriving in Ionia, he deposed all the tyrants, and established democratical government in every Grecian city; a course so opposite to the general policy of Persia, that Herodotus speaks of it as a wonder next to incredible among the people of European Greece. Possibly Mardonius was a better politician than most of the Persian great. Whatever might be the form of municipal government, the city must equally obey his commands, and perhaps he might gain the willing and zealous service of greater numbers, whose service he wanted, by the measure that surprised the father of history. Collecting then, from the Ionians and Æolians, a considerable addition to his forces, both of sea and land, he proceeded to the Hellespont, and passed into Europe.

1. 6. c. 44. & Excepting some wild hordes of Thracian mountaineers, all to the confines of Greece already acknowledged subjection to Persia. Macedonia had formerly bought its peace by submitting to the humiliating ceremony of the delivery of earth and water. Tribute being now demanded, the Macedonian prince feared to refuse. But the elements and the barbarians, this

1. 6. c. 44.
1. 7. c. 108.
Chap. 6.
sect. 3. of
this Hist.

time, stopped the progress of the Persian arms. The fleet, assailed by a storm in doubling the promontory of Athos, lost no less, it was reported, than three hundred vessels and twenty thousand men. In a sudden attack from the Brygian Thracians, the army suffered considerably, and Mardonius himself was wounded. The march could not then be safely prosecuted without subduing that people. This was effected; but the season being far advanced, and the fleet so shattered, it was judged expedient for the whole armament to return into Asia for winter-quarters.

The first object in the next spring was the little island of Thasos, formerly the seat of the principal Phenician factory in the Ægean sea; barren in its soil, but rich by its gold mines, and still more by those which its inhabitants possessed on the neighbouring continent of Thrace. To secure themselves, rather than to offend others, the Thasians had lately employed a part of their wealth in building ships of war, and improving the fortifications of their town. An order came to them, in the name of the Persian king, to raze their fortifications, and to send all their ships of war to the Persian naval arsenal at Abdera. They obeyed. Then heralds were sent into Greece, demanding of every city acknowledgment of subjection to Darius, who was styled in their proclamations Lord of all men from the rising to the setting sun, by the delivery of earth and water. Many towns on the continent obeyed, and most of the islands.¹²

OL. 72. 2.
B. C. 491.
Herodot.
l. 6. c. 46.
& seq.

Aesch. de
Cor. p. 522.
ed. Reiske.

¹² Herodotus says ALL; but he afterward excepts the little islands of Seriphos, Siphnos, and Melos.* Apparently he should also have excepted Euboea and Crete; or at least most of their towns.

* b. 7. c. 46.

CHAP.
VII.Herodot.
1. 8. c. 30.

Greece was at this time so divided by internal feuds that, had its united force been nearer in proportion to that of the Persian empire, still its circumstances would have seemed to invite the ambition of a powerful neighbour. The Thessalians, who should have guarded the northern frontier, and the Phocians, occupying the centre of the country, bore toward each other a hatred so sharpened by the hostilities of successive generations that no interest could induce them to coalesce. The Thebans, and with them almost all Bœotia, careless of an independency, among the numerous republics, adverse to peace, and little producing any happiness, submitted even zealously to the Persian commands. Athens, at declared war with Ægina, still nourished animosity against Lacedæmon; while, within Peloponnesus, the ancient enmity of Lacedæmon and Argos had been revived and heightened by late events.

1. 5. c. 82. &
1. 6. c. 49.

It is an old observation, which the history of nations gives frequent occasion to repeat, that circumstances in themselves the most trifling often lead to the greatest consequences. The ancient enmity between Athens and Ægina, said to have originated about a wooden statue, appears to have contributed not a little to lead the Athenians to that determined opposition to Persia, and to that alliance of their state with Lacedæmon, which together, in saving Greece from subjection, gave the Grecian people to be what they afterward became. As soon as it was known at Athens that the Æginetans had acknowledged themselves subjects to Persia, ministers were sent to Sparta to accuse them as traitors to Greece. It was the character of the Spartan government to be cautious in enterprise, but unshaken in principle, firm in resolution, and immovable by danger. Independency on

any foreign state was the great object of all its singular institutions; and, far from bowing to a superior power, it had for some time been not unsuccessfully aspiring to dominion over others. The haughty demand of Persia therefore could not but find at Lacedæmon a determined opposition. Both there and at Athens the public indignation vented itself in barbarian inhumanity; the Persian heralds being with ignominy and scoffing put to death; at one place ^{Herodot.}
_{l. 7. c. 133.} thrown into a pit, at the other into a well, and told there to take their earth and water. But the power of that vast empire was so really formidable, and in general opinion so nearly irresistible, that the disposition of Athens to alliance in opposition to it would be esteemed by the Lacedæmonians the more fortunate, ^{l. 6. c. 50.} as the late enmity between the two commonwealths had been extreme. The Athenian ambassadors accordingly were very favorably received at Lacedæmon. Cleomenes, vehement in all his undertakings, went himself to Ægina, intending to seize the persons of those who had been forward in leading the people of that island to the obnoxious measure. He was opposed, and so effectually that his purpose was prevented; yet not without a remarkable acknowledgment of the authority of the Spartan state. It was replied to him, ‘that he came merely as an individual; ‘the Æginetan people would have obeyed a regular ‘order from the Lacedæmonian government.’

But the dissensions of the Grecian republics among one another were not more adverse to the general defence against a foreign enemy than the spirit of party which divided each internally. Lacedæmon itself was violently distracted. The two kings, Demaratus and Cleomenes, had been long at variance. The former endeavoured to excite the leading men

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against his colleague, absent on public service: the latter, on his return, no longer keeping any measure, asserted that Demaratus was illegitimately born; and encouraging Leotychides, the next in succession of the Proclidean family, to claim the crown against him, supported the pretension with all his interest. The legitimacy of Demaratus's birth was brought into real doubt; and, where the judgment of men could not decide, recourse was had to the Delphian oracle. Herodotus, who is not scrupulous of speaking freely of oracles, tells, upon this occasion, a very circumstantial story of bribery practised by Cleomenes to procure a response from the Pythoness favorable to his views, report of which indeed appears to have found general credit in Greece. Demaratus, in consequence of that response, was deposed. Finding then his situation irksome, and perhaps unsafe, in Sparta, he retired to the island of Zacynthus. Persecution then following him thither, he fled to the Persian court.

Cleomenes, now unopposed in his measures, went to Ægina, accompanied by Leotychides; and, such was the authority which reputation had acquired to their state, the Æginetan government, generally haughty enough through presumption in its naval force and the security of its insular situation, submitted implicitly to their commands. Ten of the principal men of the island were arrested and sent to Athens, there to remain pledges of the fidelity of the Æginetan people to the Grecian cause.

The highly valuable early historian, to whom we owe almost all detail of occurrences in this age, little generally careful of the order of events in his narration, has left it uncertain to what precise time should be assigned some transactions, important in the con-

Herodot.
I. 6. c. 66.Pausan.
I. 3. c. 4.

sideration of the state of Greece. Cleomenes, he SECT.
III. informs us, led a Lacedæmonian army into Argolis, Herodot.
l. 6. c. 74.
& seq. surprised the Argives in their camp, and routed them with great slaughter. The fugitives took refuge in a consecrated wood, surrounding a temple. Such sacred groves, frequent in Greece, were generally held in scrupulous veneration. Cleomenes himself hesitated at the profanation which he meditated. But, conformably to the superstition derived from ages before Homer, he regarded only the affront to the gods, as unconnected with any crime against man, about which he had no scruple. Alluring some of the Argives from their asylum with a promise of ransom, he put them directly to death; and when his treachery was discovered, so that he could allure no more, passion overbearing superstition, he set fire to the grove, and thus the rest were destroyed. Between the battle and the massacre so large a portion of the Argive people perished that the slaves rose upon the scanty remainder, overpowered them, and for some years commanded the city. The sons however of those slain by the Lacedæmonians, by whatever good fortune escaping, when they had in sufficient number attained manhood, expelled the usurpers. These nevertheless possessing themselves of Tiryns, a negotiation ensued, and a treaty of peace and friendship was concluded. From the tenor of Herodotus's account the new citizens of Tiryns seem to have deserved a better than their final fate. War being renewed against them, they were some put to the sword, some again reduced to slavery, the rest finding only a miserable resource in exile.

It was supposed that Cleomenes, after the destruction of the Argive army, might have taken the

CHAP. VII. city, but his wild fancy led him another way.¹³ Sending home the greater part of his forces, he went, attended by a chosen escort, to the celebrated temple of Juno, near Mycenæ, to sacrifice there. The high priest of the temple remonstrated that the holy institutes forbade such intrusion of a stranger. Cleomenes, in the extravagance of his indignation, that he, of the blood of Hercules, king and priest, should be so denied, caused the high priest to be scourged by his attending Helots, performed the sacrifice himself, and then returned to Sparta. The party in opposition to him there were loud in complaint, not of his violation of the laws of war and of nations, but of his omission to attack Argos, which they imputed to corruption. The clamor however was stopped by

Herod. I. 6. a story of a miraculous effulgence from the breast of c. 82. the statue of the god whose grove Cleomenes burnt; an omen, it was insisted, clearly indicating that Argos was not to be taken. But the friends of Demaratus procured evidence so convincing of the corruption by which the oracle from Delphi had been obtained which occasioned his dethronement, that Cleomenes in alarm fled into Thessaly. The contest of factions however gave him opportunity soon to return into Peloponnesus, and in Arcadia he found or formed a party so strong that he proposed to excite war against his country. Fortunately his party in Lacedæmon, regaining the superiority, prevented that evil by procuring his recall to the throne.

¹³ A romantic story is told, by later writers, of a poetess, Telesilla, who, at the head of the women, assisted by the boys and old men of Argos, repelled the assault of the Lacedæmonians.* Had such a story had any credit in Herodotus's age, he was not of a temper to leave it unnoticed.

* Pausan. I. 2. c. 20. Polyæn. Strat. I. 7. c. 33.

That wildness of Cleomenes, which had often approached frenzy, at length became lasting madness, and he was put under confinement. In this situation, obtaining a sword from a Helot appointed to guard him, he deliberately cut himself piecemeal. The superstition of all Greece took an interest in this shocking deed. It was very generally attributed to the vengeance of the deity; but for different crimes, according to the various feelings and prejudices of the people of different states. With the Athenians, the injury done to a temple and its sacred precinct, in the invasion of Attica, was the offensive impiety. The Argives ascribed the divine wrath, most reasonably, to the treacherous massacre of their troops; but, more confidently, to those offences, in the general opinion of the age, more apt to excite divine indignation; the burning of the sacred grove, and the affront done to their protecting deity Juno, in performing sacrifice contrary to the sacred institute, and in the injurious indignity to her priest. The other Greeks, less anxious about these injuries and offences to particular people and their peculiar deities, held the sacrilegious collusion with the Pythoness, which ruined his colleague Demaratus, to have been, among the many atrocious acts of Cleomenes, what most called for the vengeance of the powers above. But the Lacedæmonians, with whom, according to a common principle of Grecian patriotism, any breach of their own institutions was a greater enormity than the grossest violation of laws human and divine affecting other states only, imputed the fatal frenzy to mere drunkenness; a vice highly reprobated and rarely seen at Sparta, but to which Cleomenes was addicted.

These circumstances will not be deemed unworthy

Herodot.
L. 6. c. 75.
Pausan.
l. 3. c. 4.
Plutarch,
Apoph.
Iac.

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objects of history when considered as they tend to mark the state of Greece, and the temper of its people, at that important period when her little commonwealths were first assailed by the tremendous might of Persia. With the same view a petty war which ensued between Athens and Ægina will deserve attention. The reader should cast his eye upon the map, and see there what Ægina is: Ægina was a formidable foe to Athens. Its rulers, having made their peace with Leotychides, so as to obtain his mediation with the Athenian government, were still denied the restoration of their hostages. Bent therefore upon revenge, they intercepted a large galley in which many Athenians of rank were going to an annual religious festival at Delos. But Ægina, like all other Grecian states, had its factions. The oligarchical now prevailed; and Nicodromus, a considerable man of the opposite party, had found it prudent to retire from his country. The present opportunity invited to connect his interest with that of Athens, where the democratical spirit prevailed. A plan of surprise was concerted with the Athenian administration, and Nicodromus, who had many friends in the island, made himself master of that called the old town of Ægina. The Athenians, not possessing a naval force sufficient to cope with the Æginetan fleet, had obtained from Corinth, then in close alliance with them, a loan of twenty ships. But these arriving a day too late, the whole project failed, and Nicodromus, with many of his adherents, fled to Attica. The Athenians allotted them a settlement near the promontory Sunium; whence they made continual assaults and depredations upon the Æginetans of the island. The prevailing party in Ægina meanwhile vented revenge against the remaining persons of the

Herodot.
1. 6. c. 85.
& seq.Thucyd.
L 1. c. 41.

opposite faction, so shocking that in these times it appears hardly credible; yet one circumstance only, of particular affront to a goddess, seems to have struck either the Greeks of that age, or the historian in the next, as any peculiar enormity. Seven hundred citizens were led out at once to execution. One of them, freeing himself from his bonds, fled to a temple of Ceres, and laid fast hold on the gate. His pursuers endeavoured to pull him away; but, his strength baffling them, they chopped off his hands, and, thus mangled, led him to suffer death with his fellows. The Æginetans were soon after defeated in a naval engagement. The Athenians then landed on the island, and the Æginetans from Sunium were not likely to be advocates for mercy to their fellow-countrymen, while of a thousand Argives, who had come to assist the Æginetans of the island, the greater part were slain. Still, with their shattered navy, the Æginetans attacked the Athenian fleet by surprise, and took four galleys.

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SECTION IV.

Second Persian armament against Greece under Datis and Artaphernes: conquest of the islands of the Ægean: invasion of Attica. Battle of Marathon.

Such was the virulence of enmity among the Greeks toward one another, reported by their own historians, at the very time when the great storm was approaching from the East, which threatened a final period to that independency of their little republics whence arose incitement and licence for those horrid violences. The small success of Mardonius, in his expedition, had probably afforded means for intrigue to take effect to his disadvantage in the court of

OL. 72.
B. C. 490.

Herodot. 1. 6. c. 94.
 & seq.
 Plat. Men. p. 240. t. 2.
 & de Leg. l. 3. p. 698.
 t. 2.

Susa. He was recalled, and the command at Sardis was given to Artaphernes, son of the late satrap of that name, with whom was joined Datis, a Median nobleman, probably of greater experience. These generals, leading a land force from the interior provinces, met the fleet on the coast of Cilicia. The conquest of Greece being the object, it was determined to avoid the circuitous march by Thrace and Macedonia. A sufficiency of transports having been collected, the whole army, cavalry as well as infantry, were embarked, and coasted Lesser Asia as far as Samos. Thither the Ionian and Æolian troops and vessels were summoned. All being assembled, the generals directed their course across the Ægean sea, first to Naxos. The inhabitants of that island, notwithstanding their former successful defence, dared not abide this formidable armament: quitting their city they fled to their mountains. The Persians burnt the town, with its temples: the few Naxians who fell into their hands were made slaves. The fleet proceeded to the neighbouring islands, receiving their submission, and taking everywhere the children of the principal families for hostages. No opposition was found till they arrived at Carystus in Eubœa. The Carystians, with more spirit than prudence, declared they would neither join in hostility against their neighbours and fellow-countrymen, nor give hostages. Waste of their lands and siege laid to their town soon reduced them to compliance with whatsoever the Persian generals chose to command.

Herod. 1. 6.
 c. 100. 101.

The storm now approached Eretria. Punishment to that city was one of the declared objects of the armament. Little hope therefore could be entertained of good terms for the community. In this desperate situation of public affairs temptation was

strong for individuals to endeavour, by whatsoever means, to secure themselves. While therefore a deputation was sent by public authority to request assistance from Athens, many of the citizens were for flying to the mountains; others were disposed to betray the city to the enemy; some of them thinking, perhaps not unreasonably, that, beside gaining for themselves favorable terms, they might even lessen the horrors of capture to the city at large, by preventing the shock of arms and the further irritation of an irresistible foe. The Athenians so far complied with the request made to them as to direct that the four thousand colonists, lately sent from Athens into Eubœa, should assist in the defence of Eretria. The aid would have been important had the Eretrians been united in council, and prepared for a siege, or had there been any reasonable prospect of farther relief from the rest of Greece. But Æschines son of Nothon, one of the principal citizens, seeing defence hopeless, advised the colonists, by a timely retreat, to reserve themselves for the protection of their native country, which would next be attacked; and which, if saved, might still afford, possibly even to the Eretrians, a refuge from Persian oppression. The colonists accordingly crossed to Oropus in Attica. Soon the Persians appeared off the Eretrian coast. The little seaport towns of Chœreas and Ægilia were immediately abandoned, and there the army debarked. Among the Eretrians, the resolution had finally prevailed to defend the city. During six days the Persian assaults were vigorously opposed. On the seventh the place was betrayed by two of the principal citizens. The temples were plundered and burnt: the inhabitants were condemned to slavery.

The Persian generals allowed but a few days' rest

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Herodot. to their forces, before they crossed into Attica: having
 l. 6. c. 102. Thucyd. Hippias, formerly tyrant of that country, now of
 l. 6. c. 59. advanced age, it being the twentieth year from his
 expulsion, for their guide and counsellor. In this
 alarming situation of Greece no measures had been
 concerted for general security. The Asian Greeks
 had been subdued. The Persian dominion was ex-
 tended then into Europe as far as the confines of
 Thessaly. All the islands had now fallen. Eubœa,
 which might be reckoned an appurtenance of the
 Grecian main, was conquered. The Persian army
 passed the narrow channel which separates them, and
 still no league for common defence appears even to
 have been proposed. On the capture of Eretria a
 messenger was sent from Athens to Lacedæmon with
 Herodot. the news, and a request for assistance. The Lacedæ-
 monians were at this time pressed by one of those
 l. 6. c. 105. Strabo, rebellions in Messenia, so often resulting from their
 l. 9. p. 399. Plat. illiberal policy for the maintenance of their sove-
 Leg. p. 698. t. 2. reigny over that country. Nevertheless they pro-
 mised their utmost help: but their laws and their
 religion, they said, forbade them to march before the
 full moon, of which it wanted five days. As things
 now stood indeed probability of successful opposition
 was so small that any base or unreasonable selfishness
 perhaps ought not to be imputed to the caution of the
 Lacedæmonian government, though policy or irreso-
 lution, more than religion, may have detained their
 army. The messenger however, Phidippides, a runner
 by profession, having performed his journey with ex-
 traordinary speed, related a story on his return which
 might be not unavailing to inspire confidence into
 the Athenian populace. As he was going, he said,
 Herodot. over the Parthenian mountain, above Tegea in Ar-
 l. 6. c. 105. cadia, the god Pan called to him by name. He

stopped in obedience to the voice; when it proceeded, commanding him to tell the Athenians, ‘ That they were wrong in paying no worship to a deity so well disposed to them, who had often served them, and intended them farther favor.’ The worship of the god Pan was in consequence introduced at Athens.

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Fortunately at this time, among the principal Athenians, there was a man qualified both by genius and experience to take the lead on a momentous occasion, Miltiades, the expelled chief of the Chersonese. Miltiades, on his retreat to Athens, had not found it immediately a place of secure refuge: a prosecution was commenced against him for the crime of tyranny.¹⁴ In another season, however indefinite the crime, and however inapplicable every existing law to any act of the accused, a popular assembly might have pronounced condemnation. In the present crisis he was not only acquitted, but, after the common manner of the tide of popular favor, raised by the voice of the people to be first of the ten commanders in chief of the army.¹⁵ Immediate assistance from Sparta being denied, it became a question with the ten generals, whether the bold step should be ventured of meeting the enemy in the field, or whether their whole diligence should be applied to prepare for a siege. It happened that opinions were equally divided; in which case, by ancient custom, the polemarch archon was to be called in to give the casting vote. The argument attributed by Herodotus to Miltiades, upon this occasion, not only tends very much to explain both the politics and the temper of

Herodot.
I. 6. c. 103.
& seq.

¹⁴ Υπὸ δικαστηρίου αὐτὸν ἀγαγόντες, ἐδίωξαν τυραννίδος τῆς εἰν Χερσονήσῳ. Herod. I. 6. c. 104.

¹⁵ Στρατηγὸς ὁς Ἀθηναῖων ἀπεδέχθη, αἱρεθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου.

Herod. I. 6. c. 104.

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the times, but accounts satisfactorily why that able commander, contrary to every common principle of defensive war, was for risking at once a decisive engagement with an enemy in number so very superior. ‘It depends upon you,’ said Miltiades in a conference with the polemarch Callimachus, ‘either to reduce Athens to slavery, or, by establishing her freedom, to leave an eternal memory of yourself among men, more glorious than even Harmodius and Aristogiton have acquired. For never before, since the Athenians were a people, did a danger like the present threaten them. If, yielding to the Persians, they are delivered into the power of Hippias, let it be thought what their sufferings will be: but if they conquer, Athens will become the first city of Greece. Should they then, by your decision, be debarred from presently fighting the enemy, I well know that faction will be dividing the minds of our citizens; and a party among them will not scruple to make terms with the Persians, to the destruction of the rest. But if we fight before any corrupt disposition prevails, the gods only dispensing equal favor, we are able to conquer.’ The polemarch yielded to this argument.

The Persians had now, for two or three generations, been accustomed to almost uninterrupted success in war. They had many times fought the Greeks of Asia and Cyprus; and though the accounts come from Grecian historians only, yet we read of no considerable defeat they had ever suffered, except once in Caria; when by the abilities of Heraclides of Mylassa their general Daurises was surprised among defiles. The army under Datis and Artaphernes therefore advanced towards Athens confident of superiority to all opposition in the field. According to Cornelius Nepos, they were a hundred thousand

Corn. Nep.
v. Miltiad.

effective foot, and ten thousand horse: a very large force to be transported by sea from Asia: yet Plato, *Plat. Men.* meaning probably to include the seamen and the various multitude of attendants upon Asiatic troops, calls the whole armament five hundred thousand; and Trogus Pompeius, according to his epitomizer Justin, did not scruple to add a hundred thousand ^{Justin.} _{1. 2. c. 9.} more. Herodotus, to whom the reports of the time would of course be known, has not undertaken to give the numbers of either army; he only says the Athenians were very inferior to the Persians.¹⁶ According to Nepos and Pausanias they were only nine thou- ^{Corn. Nep.} _{v. Miltiad.} ^{Pausan.} _{1. 10. c. 20.}

¹⁶ Readers who have observed with what caution and reserve those eminently able and eminently impartial military historians, Thucydides, Xenophon, and Polybius, state the numbers of contending armies, even of their own age, will, I think, reckon it creditable to Herodotus to have avoided answering for the numbers engaged on either side at Marathon, and will hardly give implicit credit to writers of some centuries after, not quoting any authority, for such matters. Pausanias says that the battle of Marathon was the first occasion upon which the Athenians admitted slaves to military service.* It appears from Herodotus to have been their ordinary practice to make slaves act as light troops, but all the republics avoided jealously to admit them to the honor of the panoply. Pausanias, writing in an age when the republics had no military force, having been some centuries under Roman dominion, seems not to have adverted to this. Eleven years after the battle of Marathon, at that of Plataea, when the immediate danger to the Athenian people was much less pressing, and when a considerable part of their force was serving aboard the fleet, the Athenian troops in the confederate army were eight thousand heavy foot, attended by an equal number of light-armed slaves.† At the time of the battle of Marathon the accession to the Athenian forces from the colonists lately returned from Euboea would, according to Herodotus, be scarcely less than four thousand men. The same author informs us that the inhabitants of the little island of Naxos, after the expulsion of a powerful party, formed no less

* 1. 1. c. 32.

† Herod. 1. 9. c. 28. 29.

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than eight thousand regular heavy-armed foot.* I am not aware of any better ground for conjecture concerning what may have been the Athenian numbers at Marathon.

* 1. 5. c. 30.

Herodot.
I. 6. c. 110.
Plutarch
Aristid.

difference in a speech of Aristagoras the Milesian to the Lacedæmonian assembly: ‘The Persians go to ‘battle,’ he says, ‘carrying bows and short spears, and ^{Herodot.} ‘wearing stockings and turbans.’ The Greeks carried long spears and swords, and wore greaves and helmets.¹⁷

The Persian generals, guided by Hippias, had chosen their place of debarkation on the eastern coast of Attica, near Marathon. There, on landing, they were at once in a plain in which cavalry might act; and the way to Athens, between the mountains Penticulus and Brilessus, was less difficult than any other across the heights which at some distance surround that city. The entire command which they possessed of the sea made it necessary for Miltiades to wait for intelligence where they would make their descent. They had thus landed their whole force without molestation, and were already in possession of the plain, when the Athenian army appeared upon the hills above. But this plain was narrow: pressed between the sea eastward, and the hills westward, and closed at each extremity, on the north by a marsh, on the south by the hills verging round and meeting the

¹⁷ Æschylus, who is said himself to have fought at Marathon, at Salamis, and at Plataea, adverts in several passages of his tragedy of The Persians to this difference of weapons. The chorus speaking of Xerxes says:

Ἐπάγει δουρυκλήτοις ἀν-

δράσις τοξόδαμον Ἀργην. p. 129. ed. H. Steph.

Afterward the characteristical weapons are put for the nations who bore them:

Πότερον τόξου δῦμα τὸ νικῶν,

*Η δορυκράνου

Δόγχης ἵσχὺς κεκράτηκεν. p. 131.

And, still farther, Atossa asking concerning the Athenians,

Πότερα γὰρ τοξουλκὸς αἰχμὴ διὰ χερός γ' αὐτοῖς πρέπει;
the chorus answers,

Οὐδαμῶς ἔγχη σταδῖαι, καὶ φεράσπιδες σαγαί. p. 137.

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sea. Miltiades, on view of the ground and of the enemy, determined to attack. The first object, in engaging Asiatic armies, was to resist or to render useless their numerous and excellent cavalry; the next to prevent them from profiting by their superior skill in the use of missile weapons. The former might have been obtained by waiting among the hills: but there the heavy-armed Greeks would have been helpless against the Persian archers: whose fleet, whose numbers, and whose weapons, would enable them to attack on any side, or on all sides, or, avoiding a battle, to proceed to Athens. In a plain only they could be forced to that mode of action in which the Greeks had greater practice, and for which their arms were superiorly adapted; and the narrow plain of Marathon was peculiarly favorable. Confined however as the ground was, the Athenian numbers were still insufficient to form a line equal to that of the enemy, and in all points competently strong. Deciding therefore instantly his choice of difficulties, Miltiades extended his front by weakening his centre. Daring valor indeed, guided by a discernment capable of profiting from every momentary opportunity, could alone balance the many disadvantages of his circumstances. Finding then his troops animated as he wished, he issued a sudden order to lay aside missile weapons, to advance running down the hill, and engage at once in close fight. The order was obeyed with alacrity. The Persians, more accustomed to give than to receive the attack, beheld at first with a disposition to ridicule, this, as it appeared, mad onset. The effect of the shock however proved the wisdom with which it had been concerted. The Asiatic horse, formidable in champaign countries by their rapid evolutions, but in this confined plain encumbered with

Herodot.
L. 6. c. 111.

c. 112.

their own numerous infantry, were at a loss how to act.¹⁸ Of the infantry, that of proper Persia almost alone had reputation for close fight. The rest, accustomed chiefly to the use of missile weapons, were, by the rapidity of the Athenian charge, not less disconcerted than the horse. The contest was however long. The Persian infantry, successors of those troops who, under the great Cyrus, had conquered Asia, being posted in the centre of their army, stood the vehemence of the onset, broke the weak part of the Athenian line, and pursued far into the country. The Athenians, after great efforts, put both the enemy's wings to flight, and had the prudence not to follow. Joining then their divided forces, they met the conquering centre of the Persian army, returning weary from pursuit; defeated it, followed to the shore, and amid the confusion of embarkation made great slaughter. They took seven galleys. The Persians lost in c. 113. all six thousand four hundred men. Of the Athenians c. 117. only one hundred and ninety-two were acknowledged to have fallen, but among them were the polemarch Callimachus, Stesileos one of the ten generals, Cynægirus, brother of the poet Æschylus, and other men of rank, who had been earnest to set an example of valor on the trying occasion. The praise of valor was however earned by the whole army, whose just eulogy will perhaps best be estimated from an observation of the original historian: 'The Athenians c. 112. 'who fought at Marathon were the first among the

SECT.
IV.Herodot.
1. 6. c. 112.

¹⁸ No account is given by Herodotus of anything done by the Persian horse, though he speaks of it as numerous. The detail however which he afterward gives of actions of the Persian cavalry previous to the battle of Platæa, together with every description of the field of Marathon, sufficiently accounts for their inaction or inefficacy there.

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' Greeks known to have used running for the purpose
 ' of coming at once to close fight; and they were the
 ' first who withstood (in the field) even the sight of
 ' the Median dress, and of the men who wear it;
 ' for hitherto the very name of Medes and Persians
 ' had been a terror to the Greeks.'¹⁹

Such is the account given of this celebrated day by that historian who lived near enough to the time to have conversed with eye-witnesses.²⁰ It is modest throughout, and bears general marks both of authentic information and of honest veracity. The small proportion of the Athenian slain perhaps may appear least consistent with the other circumstances. Yet it is countenanced by authentic accounts of various battles in different ages, and particularly by those in our own history, of Crecy, Poitiers, and above all, of Agincourt. When indeed the whole front of the soldier was covered with defensive armour, slaughter seldom could be great but among broken troops, or in pursuit. We are however told that a part of the

¹⁹ Those honest confessions of Herodotus, which have given so much offence to Plutarch, we find all more or less confirmed by the elder writers of highest authority. Thus Plato: *Ai δὲ γνῶμαι δεδούλωμέναι ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων ἡσαν οὕτω πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα καὶ μάχημα γένη καταδεδουλωμένη ἦν ἡ Περσῶν ἀρχή.* Menexen. p. 240.

²⁰ There are two expressions in his sixth book* which have been understood by some to import that he had himself conversed with Epizelus son of Cuphagoras, who had been deprived of his eyesight, according to his own account, in a very extraordinary manner, during the action at Marathon; but the critics seem to have determined that those expressions mean no more than that the historian had heard the account of Epizelus reported by others.† Yet Herodotus, having been born, according to the chronologers, only six years after the battle of Marathon, might very possibly have conversed with persons present at it.

* c. 117.

† See note 14. p. 493. of Wesseling's edition.

Athenian army was broken. If it might be allowed to the historian at all to wander from positive authority, the known abilities of Miltiades, and his acquaintance with the temper and formation of the Persian army, added to the circumstances of the action, would almost warrant a conjecture that the flight of his weak centre was intended, purposely to lead the flower of the enemy's forces out of the battle, and fatigue them with unprofitable pursuit. The deep order in which both Greeks and Romans fought would perhaps make such a stratagem not too hazardous for daring prudence, under urgent necessity of risking much. Writers who have followed Herodotus in describing this memorable day have abounded with evident fiction, as well as with fulsome panegyric of the Athenians, and absurd obloquy on their enemy.²¹

Still however, after the defeat at Marathon, the Persian armament was very formidable; nor was Athens, immediately by its glorious victory, delivered from the danger of that subversion with which it had been threatened. The Persian commander, doubling Cape Sunium, coasted the southern shore of Attica, not without hope of carrying the city by a sudden assault. But the Athenians had a general equal to his arduous office. Aware of what might be the enemy's intention, Miltiades made a rapid march with a large part of his forces; and when the Persians arrived off the port of Phalerum, they saw an Athenian

Herod. 1. 6.
c. 115. 116.

²¹ The extravagance of Justin's tale may lessen our regret for the loss of the great work which he has epitomized. Had Herodotus, among all his Muses, given one romance so absurd as Justin's account of this battle, he might have deserved some portion of the abuse with which calumny has singularly loaded him. Among later authors the concise narrative of Cornelius Nepos is by far most deserving attention.

CHAP. VII. army encamped on the hill of Cynosarges which overlooks it. They cast anchor; but, without attempting anything, weighed again and steered for Asia. With them they carried their Eretrian prisoners, who were conducted to the great king at Susa. The humane Darius settled these on an estate, his private property, at Ardericca in the province of Cissia, about twenty-four miles from his capital; where their posterity, for centuries, retained characteristical marks of a European origin.

Herodot.
l. 6. c. 119.
Ibid. &
Philostr.
vit. Apoll.

On the next day after the battle a body of two thousand Lacedæmonian auxiliaries arrived. They had marched instantly after the full of the moon, and, through exertion which was deemed extraordinary, reached Athens in three days.²² Disappointed, both for themselves and for their commonwealth, to have so missed their share in an action which could not but reflect uncommon glory on those who had partaken in it, they would however proceed to the field to view the slain of that enemy who now for the first time had come from so far to attack Greece, and whom report made universally so formidable. Having gratified their curiosity they returned to Lacedæmon, not without bestowing those praises which Athenian valor had so fairly earned. Though the force thus sent so late was apparently very small, both for the urgency of the occasion and for the ability of Lacedæmon, yet the pretence of religion and the zeal shown in the rapidity of the march were accepted as excuses; and it does not appear that the Athenians at the time, or their orators or writers afterward, imputed any blame to the Lacedæmonian government or people.

²² The distance, according to Isocrates, was twelve hundred Grecian stadia, a measure which, after much attention of the learned to the subject, remains yet uncertain.

SECTION V.

Growing ambition of Athens. Effects of party-spirit at Athens.

Extraordinary honors to the memory of Harmodius and Aristogiton. Impeachment and death of Miltiades.

It is particularly in the nature of democratical government for ambition to grow with success. No sooner were the Athenians delivered by the victory of Marathon from impending destruction than they began to meditate conquest. Almost all the islands of the Ægean were obnoxious for their ready submission to the Persian summons, and some still more for exertions in the Persian cause. Miltiades was sent with seventy ships to exact fines from them for their delinquency; but he was commanded farther to use the newly-acquired naval power, in imitation of the practice of Lacedæmon on the continent, for reducing them under the authority, or at least the influence of the Athenian government. Paros resisting, siege was laid to its principal town: but, with the defective art of attack on fortifications in that age, with exertion during twenty-six days no impression was made. Miltiades then, himself dangerously wounded, led back his armament to Athens, without having effected anything, according to Herodotus, but the ravage of the island.

Athens has been accused of black ingratitude and gross injustice for the treatment of this great man which immediately followed. It has been endeavoured, on the other hand, by the zealous partizans of democratical rule, to justify his doom on those severe yet clearly impolitic principles of patriotism which deny all rights to individuals where but a suspicion of

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Herodot.
I. 6. c. 132.
& seq.
Corn. Nep.
v. Miltiad.

CHAP. VII. public interest interferes. But whoever will take the pains to connect the desultory, yet honest narration of Herodotus, may find, and everything remaining from Thucydides, Xenophon, Isocrates, and all the orators, anyway relative to the subject, will confirm it, that neither ingratitude nor patriotism decided the majority in the Athenian assembly upon this occasion: party-spirit still was the great mover of their politics.

Herodot.
l. 6. c. 123.
Thucyd.
l. 1. c. 20.
& l. 6. c. 53.
& 59.

It has been said by Herodotus, and repeated by Thucydides, that, not Harmodius and Aristogiton, as the vulgar in their time believed, but the Alcmæonidean faction delivered Athens from that called the tyranny of the Pisistratidæ. But a party which had so long directed the affairs of the commonwealth as that of the Pisistratidæ, and so wisely, so virtuously, and so beneficially, would be too firmly and extensively rooted to be at once annihilated by the expulsion of its chiefs. The Alcmæonidæ had beyond all things to dread the reflux of popularity toward that party: and it seems therefore to have been a studied policy to hold out the names of Harmodius and Aristogiton to public esteem, while nothing was left untried to brand the memory of the Pisistratidean administration. Hence the very extraordinary honors paid to the memory of the assassins of Hipparchus: hence the mere revenge of a private quarrel elevated to the dignity of tyrannicide and assertion of public liberty. The celebration of the deed by songs was made a regular part of the ceremony of the great Panathenaean festival. The custom was introduced, even at private entertainments, always to sing the song of Harmodius and Aristogiton.²³ Statues of the

²³ This song, the most ancient composition of its kind extant,

patriots, made by the ablest artists, at the public expense and of the most costly materials, were erected in different places of greatest resort in the city.²⁴ It was forbidden, by a particular law, to give their names to slaves. Obsequies were appointed to be periodically performed to their memory, under direction of the polemarch archon. Particular honors, privileges, and emoluments were decreed to their families. And, to conclude all, in terror to future invaders of public liberty, but principally in terror to the living enemies of the Alcmæonidean party, promises were held out, by public authority, that future sufferers in the cause of freedom (for by that sacred name the Alcmæonidæ described their own cause) should be equally honored with Harmodius and Aristogiton. Attention to these circumstances, as effects of party, is necessary for understanding, in any degree, the domestic politics of the Athenian commonwealth.

The glory of Miltiades, diminishing the consequence, excited the envy of the Alcmæonidæ. Herodotus mentions a report that they had gone so far as to hold a traitorous correspondence with the Persians under Datis and Artaphernes, and communicated intelligence to them by signals. He professes indeed that he thought this incredible; and the circulation of such a report may perhaps best be considered as one, among the innumerable proofs, how busy and how virulent in calumny faction was at Athens.²⁵ On

Herodot.
l. 6. c. 121.

may be seen, with an elegant Latin translation, in Bishop Lowth's Lectures on Hebrew Poetry; and an elegant English translation, in which the turn of expression of the original has been very happily imitated, is among Pye's poems.

²⁴ The laborious Meursius, in his Pisistratus, has collected accounts of many of these statues from various ancient authors.

²⁵ Narratam sibi, vel ab aliis scripto mandatam, Athenien-

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the other hand, the ill will of the Alcmaeonidæ to Miltiades did not remain doubtful. The security of the commonwealth, procured by that great man's abilities, had made those abilities less immediately necessary; and his failure at Paros afforded means for ruining him with a fickle multitude, possessed of despotic authority. Xanthippus, one of the principal men of Athens, who had married a niece of Megacles, the great opponent of Pisistratus and chief of the house of Alcmaeon, conducted a capital accusation against him. When Miltiades was to answer before the people he was so ill from his wound as to be unable to rise from his bed. In his bed therefore he was brought into the assembly, where he lay, a melancholy spectacle, while his cause was pleaded by his friends. He was acquitted of capital offence, but condemned in a fine of fifty talents, above twelve thousand pounds sterling; and being unable immediately to pay such a sum, it was proposed by his opponents, and actually ordered by the assembly, that he should be carried, ill as he was, to the common prison. But the prytanis, whose office it was to execute the severe injunction, indignant at the unworthy treatment of a man to whom his country owed so much, had the courage to disobey. Within a few days, a mortification in the wounded limb brought Miltiades to his end; yet the fine, rigorously exacted from his family, was paid by his son Cimon.²⁶

' sium quorundam suspicionem tot argumentis repellit Herodotus, ut in his etiam vexandis modum excessisse videatur
' Plutarchus, de Herod. Malign.' Valcken. not. ap. Wessel.
Herod. l. 6. c. 121. Plutarch has indeed, throughout that treatise, exceeded all measure of reason, and little regarded argument.

²⁶ Cornelius Nepos, Plutarch, Valerius Maximus, and Justin, all affirm, that Miltiades was thrown into the common prison,

Herodot.
l. 6. c. 131.
& 136.
Corn. Nep.
v. Miltiad.

and died there; and they add some circumstances to improve the story. On such a concurrence of authority, I had thought myself warranted to report the simple circumstance (though Herodotus had omitted mention of it) that Miltiades died in prison. But looking into Bayle's Dictionary, in the article Cimon, I found this passage: 'Herodote, parlant du procès de Miltiade, ne dit rien, ni de la prison du père, ni de la prison du fils ; et il insinue clairement que Miltiade ne fut point emprisonné ;' and a little farther this quotation from Plato: Μιλτιάδην δὲ, τὸν ἐν Μαραθῶνι, εἰς τὸ βάραθρον ἐμβαλεῖν ἐψηφίσαντο, καὶ, εἰ μὴ διὰ τὸν πρύτανιν, ἐνέπεσεν ἄν.* Upon reconsidering the matter, I entirely agree with the learned and ingenious critic that it is clearly implied in the account of Herodotus, that neither Miltiades nor Cimon was imprisoned;† and Plato's testimony so confirms this that I do not hesitate to reject the reports of the later writers. Bayle translates *βάραθρον*, I think properly, *le Cachot*. Originally that word is said to have been the name of a deep pit in Attica, which in early times was used as a place for capital punishment, by throwing criminals headlong upon sharp stakes fixed at the bottom. That cruel mode of execution was, we are told, by the advice of an oracle,‡ afterward disused, and the pit was filled; the name nevertheless remaining as a common term for a dungeon.

* Plat. Gorg.

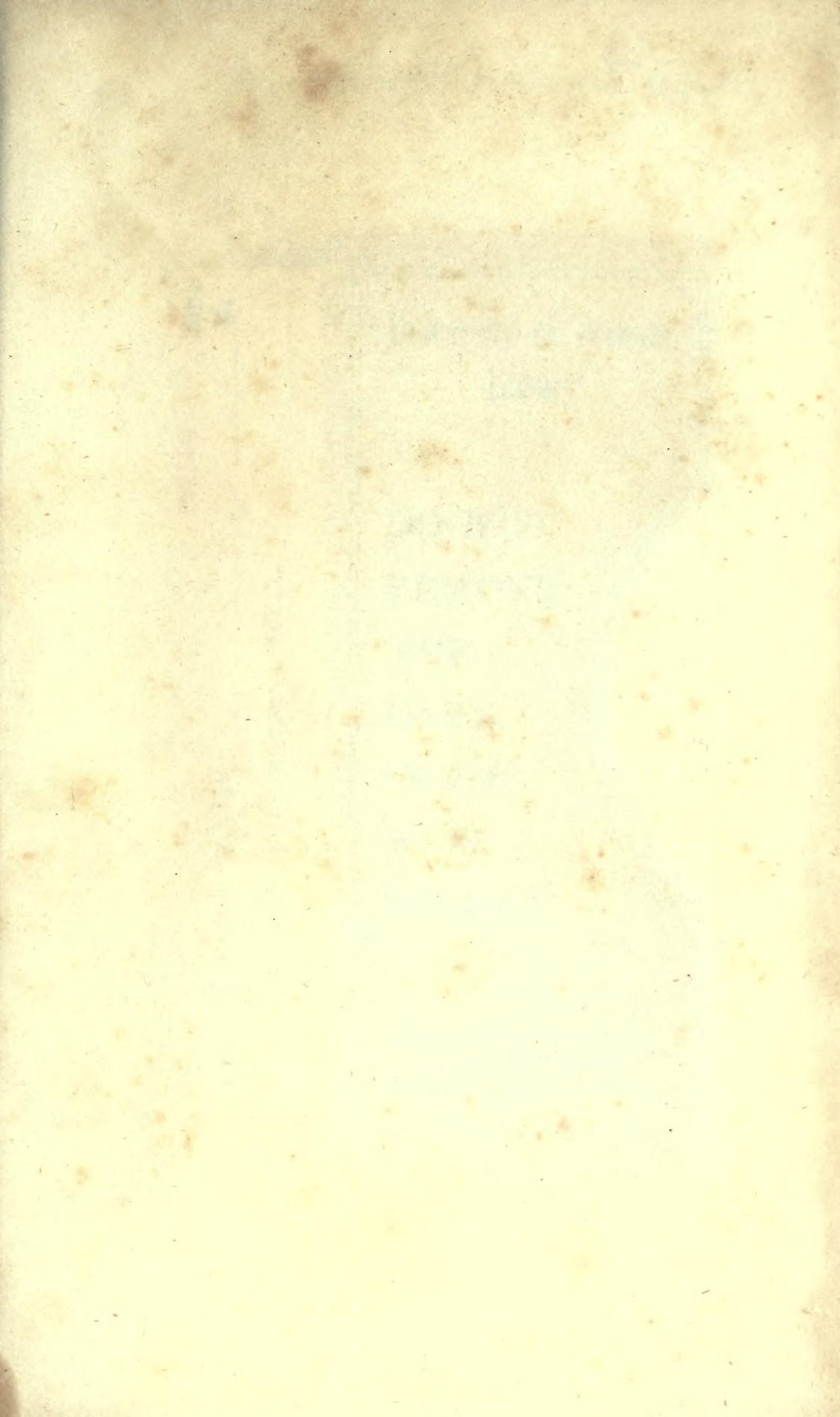
† b. 6. c. 136.

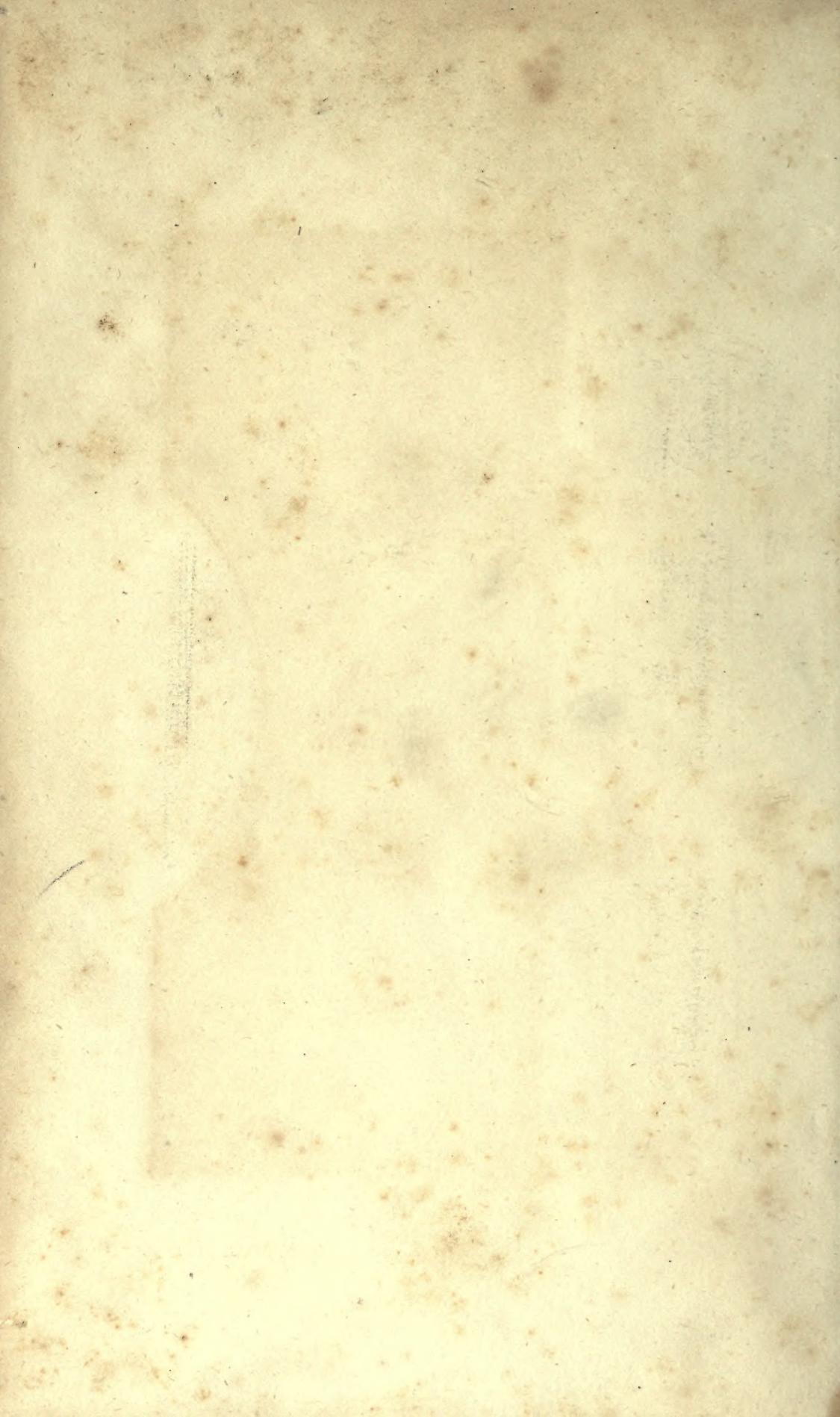
‡ Schol. in Plut. Aristoph. v. 431.

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